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THOMAS B. THAYER, D.D., Editor

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CONTENTS.

Page

ART. I. THE CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL SUCCESS. 5
By Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D.

ART. II. CLEMENT OF ROME..... 24
By Rev. G. W. Whitney.

ART. III. MODERN UTILITARIANISM..... 34
By Rev. R. C. Waltham, B. D.

ART. IV. JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL..... 45
By Rev. T. C. Druley.

ART. V. CALEB RICH..... 58
By Rev. W. S. Balch.

ART. VI. MEDIÆVALISM AND NATURE..... 79
By Rev. S. S. Hebbard.

ART. VII. THE DOCTRINE OF ANNIHILATION..... 90
By Rev. A. C. Thomas.

ART. VIII. SIN AND SALVATION..... 129
By Rev. S. Crane.

ART. IX. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,— GEORGE RICHARDS..... 139
By Rev. E. G. Brooks, D. D.

ART. X. PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY..... 163
By Rev. A. St. John Chambré.

ART. XI. BIBLICAL USAGE OF ZOE AND PSUKE..... 172
By Rev. W. R. French.

ART. XII. THE GROUNDS OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT CONSIDERED..... 182
By Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D.

ART. XIII. PAUL'S PREACHING AT ATHENS..... 201
By Prof. J. S. Lee.

ART. XIV. THE LAND-LAWS OF MOSES..... 220
By Rev. T. B. Thayer, D.D.

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CONTENTS.

		Page
ART. I.	THE CONDITIONS OF PROFESSIONAL SUCCESS. By Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D.	5
ART. II.	CLEMENT OF ROME..... By Rev. G. W. Whitney.	24
ART. III.	MODERN UTILITARIANISM..... By Rev. R. C. Waltham, B. D.	34
ART. IV.	JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL..... By Rev. T. C. Druley.	45
ART. V.	CALEB RICH..... By Rev. W. S. Balch.	58
ART. VI.	MEDIÆVALISM AND NATURE..... By Rev. S. S. Hebbard.	79
ART. VII.	THE DOCTRINE OF ANNIHILATION..... By Rev. A. C. Thomas.	90
ART. VIII.	SIN AND SALVATION..... By Rev. S. Crane.	129
ART. IX.	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, — GEORGE RICHARDS..... By Rev. E. G. Brooks, D. D.	139
ART. X.	PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY..... By Rev. A. St. John Chambré.	163
ART. XI.	BIBLICAL USAGE OF ZOE AND PSUKE..... By Rev. W. R. French.	172
ART. XII.	THE GROUNDS OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT CONSIDERED..... By Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D.	182
ART. XIII.	PAUL'S PREACHING AT ATHENS..... By Prof. J. S. Lee.	201
ART. XIV.	THE LAND-LAWS OF MOSES..... By Rev. T. B. Thayer, D.D.	220

Page.

ART. XV. THE GENESIS OF SCIENCE..... 257
By Rev. S. S. Hebbrad.

ART. XVI. LETTERS OF MURRAY AND RICHARDS..... 275
By Rev. E. G. Brooks, D. D.

ART. XVII REMINISCENCES OF W. J. FOX, OF LONDON, AND THE AUTHOR OF "NEARER MY GOD TO THEE."..... 293
By John H. Osborne.

ART. XVIII. DOCTRINAL PHASES OF UNIVERSALISM DURING THE PAST CENTURY..... 314
By Rev. G. W. Whitney.

ART. XIX. AFRICA: PHYSICAL HISTORICAL, AND ETHNOLOGICAL..... 334
By Rev. R. O. Williams.

ART. XX. BAYLE AND LE CLERC; OR, THE MANICHEAN AND THE UNIVERSALIST..... 346
By Rev. T. J. Sawyer, D. D.

ART. XXI. JOHN MURRAY..... 385
By Rev. G. L. Demarest.

ART. XXII. THE GENESIS OF SCIENCE..... 405
By Rev. S. S. Hebbard.

ART. XXIII. THE PREPARATION FOR CHRISTIANITY.... 422

ART. XXIV. SEARS' "HEART OF CHRIST."..... 429
By Rev. I. M. Atwood.

ART. XXV. A POPULAR OBJECTION TO UNIVERSALISM REVIEWED..... 440
By Rev. G. H. Emerson.

ART. XXVI. LETTERS OF MURRAY AND RICHARDS..... 446
By Rev. E. G. Brooks, D.D.

ART. XXVII. THE GOSPEL MINISTER..... 464
By Rev. A. C. Barry, D.D.

GENERAL REVIEW..... 96, 229, 354, 476

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

Article I.

The Conditions of Professional Success.

[The following is the substance of an Address to the Graduating Class of Bellevue Hospital Medical College. In preparing it for the *Quarterly*, I have retained the style in which it was spoken.—E. H. C.]

The circumstances of the present occasion are old, yet always new. Every year, and every day, young men go forth to take their places in the great field of human achievement. It is but a recurrence of the story that has been unfolded from generation to generation. But while to the world at large this is such a familiar instance, to the candidate himself it is as the opening of the world's morning. Life lies before him as an untried possibility. He quits the posture of mere reception, and assumes the attitude of action. The stage of pupilage is past; the stage of trial is at hand. The orchestra has just played "The March to Battle." It is very suggestive. Each of these young men is marching to a battle — a battle, especially, in a professional sense, with those forms of disease and suffering against which his skill is to be employed, but, also a battle with those conditions which attend all human endeavor, and, perhaps, most of all, a battle with *himself*. Or, if this term seems too restricted or too fanciful, I will use a more exact word. I will use *the* exact word, but a word which equally implies the idea of defeat or victory. I say, then, that

each of these young men is going forth to a *Work*. Let no conceit of scientific dignity or educated refinement obscure the fact that the professional man is simply a working man, bound to the ordinances of all labor, whether it is wrought in sweat of the brow or sweat of the brain.

I propose, then, to speak of *The Conditions of Professional Success*, and the idea upon which my remarks will be based is this — that the conditions of professional success are the conditions of success in all good and lawful work. Assuming this as my main proposition, then, I call your attention to two points. In the first place, I will speak of *Laws*, and in the second place of *Estimates*.

Your own professional studies have furnished you with ample illustrations of the first of these conditions. The searching analysis of our time claims all things as existing under *Law*, — mental aptitudes and moral motives, no less than the circulation of the blood, or the movement of the tides. Inside the world-wide ordinance of labor — the comprehensiveness and blessedness of which prove it to be a divine ordinance — the operation of law is indicated in human pursuits.

1. In the first place, there is the law of *Fitness* — the fitness of men for different kinds of work. No analogy holds out more persistently than the common-place one of society and the human body. Thus some men are limbs and others are organs. There are those whose specialty is *Executive*. The world cannot afford to spare them, any more than you or I can afford to spare our fingers or our arms. Here, again, is a class whose distinctive office is to *think* and to *speak*. They are tongues and brains, although, sometimes, the tongues and the brains get separated. And, still again, this corporate humanity has its *Eyes*, — men whose function it is to *look*, — the Investigators, the Discoverers, who, in Nature and throughout the realm of truth, *see* more than you or I can see. Now, this diversity of operations appears to be the result of a fixed purpose. Faculties for special kinds of work are congenital. Gifts blossom from the blood. Some men have their calling fore-cast in the sockets of their eye-balls and the bulging of their thumbs.

This is in opposition to the doctrine that men may become what they will, which, perhaps, is true, in the sense that men *will* to become what they *do* become. But aptitudes, powers, the will — which is a sign and prophecy of the power — are not wrought by education, and have no artificial birth. It is not true that "the poet is born and the orator becomes," except in the sense that any other man who fills his place, and does his work successfully, is born, or becomes. Every man cannot be a mechanic, any more than every man can be a musician; and the faculty of laying the keel of a ship is as divine as the faculty of creating an Iliad. Sometimes, we do find men possessed of a remarkable diversity of talents, as we sometimes find men both of whose hands, so to speak, are right hands. But, to say nothing of the fact that these universal geniuses are exceptional, it may be questioned whether, in any sense, they ever are really successful. Unless these diversified gifts are ranged upon one plane of power, and are coordinate to some central faculty, these "Admirable Crichtons" turn out to be little more than phenomena.

This law of human pursuits, which we may term the law of personal fitness or aptitudes, predetermines those diversities of skill or power, which are multiplied by the progress of society. In primitive stages of civilization, individuals and communities lie in masses of indiscriminate strata. So far as any productive work is done at all, each man is all other men. But, in more advanced periods, the productive fund of society peels off in laminæ of trades, professions, specialties, so that twenty men may be employed in making a pin. And thus, more and more does it appear, that each man has his place and is fitted for some untransferrable work in the grand economy. For, as not a single leaf among the myriads hangs idle, but holds its outspread palm not only to receive, but to give, so each man is set here to do something, and his specialty is his call. And thus out of the most manifold diversity issues the grandest unity. Each cell, and fibre, and seed-vessel, and bud-ring, throbbing and flushing with its own special activity; the vast trunk, the spreading limbs, the entire forest mass, like one un-

broken life, moves in the melody of a common inspiration and a common order.

The first step, then, which a man takes in relation to his work — that is, the choice of the work itself — is indicated by this law of personal fitness. Of course, there are some who never take the trouble to make any choice at all. It can hardly be said that they "lay hold of an occupation," but, rather, some occupation lays hold of them. They slide into something when it comes along, or drop into it, like slugs, blown down by a high wind. And so they go through life, taking the world in the way of "pot-luck," emerging and disappearing in the current of events, now coming up, when something happens to come up, and going down when it happens to go down. They are hollow tubes, which may be filled merely with purposeless impulses, but which may be played upon by Satan's recruiting sergeants.

Leaving these, however, to sink or swim, I observe that it is a sad thing to see men out of gear, — men who are tied on to their work, men whose work is tied on to them, and who keep slipping and bumping throughout the revolution of their lives. Bungling mechanics, who ought to have been expounding philosophy or science, teachers and dignitaries who ought to have been driving nails or making shoes. It is probable, however, that we shall find more incongruities in the last-named instance than in the first. A bungling mechanic is not likely to succeed so smoothly as some pretentious oracle of wisdom. The more subtile the gift which is assumed to exist, the more easy is it to keep up the semblance of it. A bishop, after having made a certain appointment, was asked whether he "preferred, learning to piety," to which he replied, "They can deceive me about their piety, but they cannot about their learning."

Disregard for this law of personal fitness produces in about equal proportion results both ludicrous and melancholy. It is hardly worth the while to describe a class of people who are out of place but not out of employment; people who fly too high, or carry too much wax in their wings; owl-faced dignitaries, who *look* wiser than any men ever was or ever will be;

pudding-brained pomposities, who make up in starch for what they lack in stamina, and many others who are sailing in too deep water, and who, as a substitute for quiet power, keep up a tremendous palpitation with the paddle-wheels.

Nevertheless, let nobody cherish a morbid distrust. Let no man carry to excess the notion that he is out of his place. You will not do well if you are haunted by the notion that somewhere else you might do better. After all, there is a faculty of *adaptedness* which traverses this law of personal fitness. Second nature grows close to first nature. Human elasticity is marvellous. Even the most unhandy man is a sort of Robinson Crusoe. Plant him on a desolate island and he would sprout into a twenty-bladed penknife. I have only been arguing for a wise choice in the beginning. Having chosen your pursuit, and set your face towards its purposes, stick to it, and do not be troubled with the conceit of "high work" or "low work." Do not despise professional drudgery. All useful work is good work, and in it there is no such distinction as "high" or "low;" except in moral qualities, there is no such distinction in the universe. On the scale of God's infinity, what becomes of your "high" and "low?" There is no aristocracy in nature. It is hard to say what thing there is most regal or most glorious. At least, concerning anything we may say, that the measure of its rule is the measure of its service. Tested by this standard, I ask which is most glorious? Is it the sea, or the land, that hold each other in an embrace of mutual benefit? Is it the warp of the shower, or the woof of the sunshine, or the rainbow-scarf, that rises as they weave? Is it the element of beauty, or the element of power? or is there any dignity or any glory in the wondrous whole that does not depend upon the faithful work of every atom, the beat of whose invisible treadles moves the round world? Let men do their work as the waves break, as the light spreads, as the birds sing, in the development of their irrepressible aptitudes and to universal harmony.

2. The next law of work to which I call your attention is the law of *Balance*. All sound labor runs between extremes. We

speak of a man becoming "subdued to that in which he works," and thus we imply that he is not merely engaged in his pursuit, but that his pursuit has monopolized him. It has steeped, warped, saturated him, body and soul, until there remains not a monad of his personality which is not dynamically related to his business. We talk of "the liberalizing tendencies of certain pursuits," but no occupation truly liberalizes a man if he pursues it absorbingly — if he does not sometimes get outside of it, and balance it with other interests. The poor day-laborer, pressed by the necessity of his daily toil, becomes little else than an unthinking untensil, or a bent bar. And so in other spheres of occupation, there is an assimilating process which may be fatal to moral and intellectual completeness. It is not sheer self-interest that thrusts so persistently against arguments, against innovations, against Truth itself; it is the result of an exclusive position, cramping a man's nature, and coloring even his mental eyesight; the standards of his own occupation become the standards of all things. He thus makes only a barley-corn estimate of the universe, or takes a yard-stick to measure the New Jerusalem. He weighs souls with materialistic counters, and only hears the chariot wheels of human regeneration as they jar his pig-iron or his crockery; therefore, in the most decided atmosphere of thought and culture, men are liable to this professional color-blindnes. How exempt from it, for instance, is the clergyman, who has studied only the topics directly associated with his calling? Is he not apt to set up a white-neckcloth ideal of the world? Sir Humphrey Davy certainly was not insensible to the wonders of Nature, but evidently he had no eye for art. He hurried through the Louvré unimpressed by all its treasures, until he came to an Antinous sculptured in alabaster. This roused him. With an exclamation of surprise and delight, he cred, "What a beautiful stalactite!" We speak, very justly, of theological bigotry, especially in its peevish but ineffectual antagonism to Science; nevertheless, I am inclined to think that Science has its bigots also. The conflict in the school of experiment is as acrimonious as in the school of dogma. Systems of "ori-

gin" and "development" clash as fiercely as systems of faith and ceremonial. The assumption is as illogical, and the vision is as narrow, of those who see only one disc of the embossed shield of the universe, and who exclude from the spectrum all lines of supernatural light, as of those whose definitions are fixed by the decrees of councils or fossilized in creeds. At least, there is danger, that even in this calm latitude of scientific observation, men will tip the balance, and become "subdued to that in which they work" — materialized by matter, and flattened by their study of surfaces. Dissection and analysis, molecules, cell-germs, odors and gasses, all symmetries dissolved to pulp, until the explorer loses the expression of phenomena, and misses the significance of law. Even broad-minded Humboldt, in all the "Cosmos," owns no personal recognition. In the depths below, a skeleton world; in the depths above, a cold and glittering silence, without one flush of the awful Presence that glowed in the burning bush. Unquestionably, Terence was right: "I take it," said he, "to be a principal rule of life not to be too much addicted to one thing."

But again. The Law of Balance requires due proportion between the faculties of thought and execution. This statement resolves itself into a very trite proposition. There is no good thought that will not stand the test of work. There is no good work without thought. Now, a common violation of this law is indicated by one word — "speculation." Some men's brains are nothing but scheme-factories, from which new projects are perpetually emerging, like flowers and confectionery out of a conjuror's hat — theories and methods, that have no more ground in reality than Aladdin's Lamp. There is almost always one thing, and only one thing, that a man can do well. After all, people of one idea are not to be sneered at. It requires much diligence and some brains to take care of one solid idea; and if he who is so fortunate as to have one persistently carries it out, it may become a reputation, or a fortune, or an institution. But if he goes on speculating and experimenting in twenty different ways, we shall

probably see twenty fizzles, for the crown of all faculties — I had almost said the crown of all virtues — is common sense, and common sense holds everything close to execution.

On the other hand, there is no good work without thought. But how much labor, professional and otherwise, is merely automatic, — a routine of the muscles, a tread-mill of the mind, into which there break no inspirations? In almost all pursuits you will find a class of men who call themselves "practical people," and who are just the most impracticable people on the face of the globe. These, carrying to excess the principle of which I have just been speaking, distrust all experiments. And there they stand, screwed into the forked end of old prejudices and old customs, seeing just what they always have seen, and doing just what they always have done, and so opposed to stepping forward, that were it not for the law of gravitation, the earth, as it moves through its orbit, would be twitched from under their feet, and leave them sticking in blank space.

Life should not be blown off in mere speculation; but it is equally true that theory marches in the van of progress. Hypothesis precedes discovery. Men throw a slim kite-string across Niagara River. This is only a venture — a speculative conjecture. But by and by there swings a solid structure, the transit-path of traffic, and a highway for nations. All branches of human pursuit are amenable to better methods, and should be continually ventilated by fresh suggestions. In any case, a man should not be shut up in his work, but he should stand outside of it, and hold it within his thought. That is a miserable business which, while it fills his mouth, starves his brains. The value of any performance is determined by the proportion in which it is suffused with the worker's personality, and vibrates with his own mind. There must, then, be a fair balance between Thought and Execution.

The law of balance also decides between *too little* and *too much*. Dreadful, on either hand, is the condition of those who have nothing to do, and of those who are over-worked. Dreadful is the condition of those who spend their days in the lan-

guor of perfumed idleness, or who, in the heart-sickness of Epicurean surfeit, are crying out for some new excitement — bungling in that most sacriligious of all murders, "killing time." The Marquis of Spinola asked Sir Horace Vere what his "brother died of?" "He died, sir, of having nothing to do," was the reply. "Alas," rejoined Spinola, "that is enough to kill any general of us all." In this country, however, there are few who are in danger of catching that complaint. And, on the whole, who is not thankful for his share in the beneficent ordinance? Who is disposed to look merely on the rough side of his drudgery, and does not feel that even this is far better than to swing in some hammock of laziness and doze his life away?"

But we must maintain the balance. This is a point upon which it is very presumptuous for me to speak in this presence, and the speaker might becomingly change places with his audience. Nevertheless, I presume that the eminent authorities here present will confirm the assertion that in the movement of our American life, brains and bodies are more rapidly used up than in any other area of industry upon the globe. It is astonishing how furiously a man will put himself through the mill here, and get torn into rags and ground into pulp. So we have this fearful prevalence of nervous diseases, heart-diseases, paralysis, and softening of the brain, striking down active men at the very helm of affairs. We are to earn our bread in the sweat of the brow, but this is no warrant for converting the body into a factory that runs all the time, and the mental faculties into a gang of incessant trip-hammers. There is no gain in *speed* when we lose in *power*. The Law of Balance in work is a divine law — the law of rythmical heart, and chorded nerves, and convoluted brain. And when, by unrelaxing labor, the merchant gets tattooed with disease, or the statesman, or the professional man, feeds the ethereal spark with the fragments of a broken constitution, we know that the fortunes which are built, and the honors which are acquired, are raised on broken commandments of God, written in letters of blood on columns of bone.

3. I will detain you with the consideration of only one other law of work as a Condition of Professional Success, and that is the law of *Just Measure*. I do not refer now to the ethics of work, although I assume the moral law as the basis of all I may say, as one assumes the atmosphere when he talks of sound. I assume that there is no pursuit in which one can afford to do without a conscience, any more than he can do without brains or instruments. But what I wish to say concerning just measure applies not so much to the ordinary morality of human transactions as to what one should give for what he expects to receive. As there is no royal road to knowledge, so is there no legitimate method of success except by submitting to the conditions of success. And yet, every kind of work, every profession, has its crowd of complainers, who are continually charging the world with ingratitude, and protesting that their merits are not acknowledged. Broods of neglected geniuses, whose wings have been frost-bitten in the unsympathetic air; unrecognized benefactors, whose methods that were to revolutionize the world have been rudely kicked aside, and who are always comparing themselves to this or that great man, who was repudiated by his contemporaries and was too big for his time.

Now this style of reasoning is not sound: certainly it is not fresh. Because Harvey caught a sprinkle of martyrdom after publishing his treatise on the circulation of the blood, it does not follow that Mr. Dædalus Fizzle-brain is unjustly treated with his machinery for "perpetual motion." Because Savage wandered hungry and houseless through London streets, and poor Chatterton died of arsenic and starvation, and Keats early "felt the flowers growing over his grave," is, therefore, Mr. J. Byron Slush, with his composite claim of frenzy, gin and dirty linen, an unappreciated poet and a crushed genius? Doubtless there are cases of unjust neglect; but, as a general fact, I am inclined to believe that the world recognizes all good work — that the acorns of real genius, scattered here and there, grow into oaks at last, — and that every grain of genuine service, in one way or another, has its just measure of

reward. The world cannot take any man's bare assertion that he is a great man. Let him prove it. If he feels that he has anything to do superior to the ordinary routine of his work, or his profession, let him do it. "By their *fruits* ye shall know them." Men who have done anything, and who have become anything, have grown by their own personal stamina. They did not sprawl upon patronage, or whine at neglect. They broke through obstacles and asserted their claims. Why don't these suppressed geniuses and neglected benefactors quote both sides of the parallel?—not merely telling us what great men have *endured*, but what they have *done?* The discoveries of Copernicus were ridiculed and denounced. Impediments fell in Fulton's way. Lawyers laughed at and engineers disbelieved in Stephenson's locomotive. But to-night the heavens are verifying the book that Copernicus held in his dying hand, and Fulton's project is running yet, and Stephenson put his locomotive through.

It is obvious that this line of remark bears upon a great deal of the discomfort and discontent, the weariness and drudgery, which are incidental to professional life, especially in its earlier stages. The weariness which so many of the young and hopeful have experienced, and will continue to experience, until the end of time, the consciousness of fine powers blunted by grinding routine; of ability kept down; of skill acquired by years of patient study unappreciated; of services grudgingly repaid; the conviction that one must thus work on in obscurity; these excite the bitter and irritating feeling that the just measure of work has not received its just measure of reward. But, after all, the true reward of work is in its intrinsic nature, and in its results. The useful work is demonstrated by its usefulness; the good work by its goodness. Moreover, he who performs such work never can feel that he is merely the conscript of ill-fortune, but the willing servant of truth and deed. Faithful work is always *loving* work, wrought for the work's sake, in which fame and fortune are only secondary motives: not mere bread and butter work — not mere perfunctory work — but work of the fruitful brain and skilful

hand, following the dictates of the whole soul and of the heart.

And the evils which discontent with the conditions of legitimate work may engender, are equally apparent. Impatient at the slow income of legitimate success, there are some who seek to accelerate it by unjust measure, by unscrupulous ingenuity and spurious methods. Hence the vast system of quackery which, I hardly need say, is by no means confined to the area of one profession. The political, the financial, the moral world, swarms with pills, and extracts, and all sorts of nostrums, bearing that infallible stamp of quackery. One remedy warranted to cure all sorts of disease — ring-worms and leprosy, vice and poverty, chronic lying and the national debt. These are the fertile expedients of those who are not content to abide by the law of just measure, who are more solicitous to get than to give, or who substitute *quantity* for *quality*. In this way such men may succeed, according to the worldly and metallic standard of success, but not according to the genuine standard. Ricketty work of any kind will not stand: the veneering cracks, and the white-wash peels off, and the flaw comes out in the unsound timber, and the bad needles break at the point and "cut in the eye." The genuine articles secure the surest sale. The greenest customer, in a little while, finds out that the best things are the cheapest. The knowledge may not come soon enough to prevent fraud, and Dishonesty may line its pockets with gold, but the knowledge *does* come; and even if it does not, the deceiver is conscious of his deceit, and even the mean man knows *almost* how mean he really is.

And thus the law proceeds through all human pursuits, and all round "the whirligig of Time," that "brings its revenges." A shallow reputation, lifted upon some crest of circumstance, and chafed into a phosphorescent brilliance, how soon it lies upon the sand, flat and flabby as a jelly-fish! As ages wax and wane, how thin the constellations grow! How few the names that burn forever above the horizon — the names of those who enshrined the light of Eternal Truth, and were poised upon the axis of world-wide fitness! How all false work, even upon the

most imposing scale, grows weather-worn, and hideous, and intolerable, drops with the plummet and crumbles beneath the line! But the work of just measure, the work faithfully wrought in love, though only the commonest kind of work — the work done in loyalty to duty, and gallantly at one's post — the work of help and relief — never really loses its power, and has a sure reward. Do we ask "Where?" and "How?" Why, where are the seeds that fall in silence? Where are the rain-drops that soaked into the clods, and the spray that was blown inland from the sea, and the unregarded plant that fulfilled its humble cycle and withered by the wall? They have passed into other forms of power. They will grow in the grass and ripen in the corn. The flowers of summer will wear their livery; they will quiver in the blazonry of Autumn; they keep spinning in the great round of nature; they are felt in the accumulated life of the world. So, in some way, all good work is felt among men. It has added to human well-being and progress. It stands in solid results, or circulates as moral force. It spreads in the widening ring of influences. It has helped to make men better, and it has made better those who wrought it. Such is the law, and such is the blessing of Just Measure.

But in the concluding portion of my remarks, let me pass from the consideration of the *Laws* of work, to say a few words concerning *Estimates*. The work which men do, whether of the hands or of the brain, is to be performed under certain conditions — but then, what is the *value* of the work itself?

1. In the first place, as to degrees of greatness or nobleness in work — the standard seems to be the usefulness of any work, and the amount of mental and moral power which it involves. There is no ground for conventional aristocracy in labor — there is nothing in the mere external aspects of work that warrants us in calling one kind "vulgar" and the other "honorable," — making such a distinction, for instance, between manual labor and professional labor. In pursuits which we are accustomed to associate with merely mercenary ends, or with a common-place level of life, we may do great injustice to

the absolute intellectual ability employed. "It is not everybody that can keep a hotel;" and that flash saying involves important truth. It is said that the question which underlies all social institutions, is the *Bread* question; and if so, surely it requires some genius to get the bread duly distributed. In pursuits where enterprise and management are needed, it is not easy to estimate the positive intellectual power that is brought into operation. Of course, there is a great deal of stupid, automatic, wooden-headed work in the world, but no man ever succeeded in any business without "mixing his materials with brains."

No good work excludes intellectual activity, or is essentially vulgar. Our time is characterized as unromantic, because it is an age of work, — an age of cotton-spinning and coal-digging, of smut and steam — an age, it is alleged, when the souls of men are in their purses, and tall factory-chimneys contrast dismally with feudal turrets and battlemented walls. But these contrasted aspects are merely matters of taste. As to essential nobility, there is fully as much of it in the artisan who earns bread, as in the robber-baron who stole it. And as to the intellectual dignity represented in modern labor, look around you! You see a power grander than Romance or Poetry — as grand as Fact and Nature. A power born of science and industry; a power wielding elements whose noise is like the thunder, whose light is like "the neesings of Leviathan;" a power which, from the humble utensil by the kitchen fire, has evoked a genius which, more marvellous than that of the Arabian tale, expands over land and sea, and stretches its arms around the globe.

And the gauge by which to estimate the nobleness of individual conditions is that which tests character and motive. I know it has been contended that "the main-springs of success in business are a hard heart and a good digestion;" but these are not the most radical or the most prevalent elements in human achievement. If we could look below the aspects of the toiling multitude, we might discover men striving, not merely for wealth or fame, but for those who are dearer to them than their

own lives — striving against want and poverty; striving to achieve a manly independence; striving to maintain their mercantile or business honor with as much sensitiveness and gallantry as the soldier who fights to maintain the honor of his flag; striving to discharge their sacred stewardship of gifts and means, in loving devotedness to humanity; striving in some way to help, to heal, to bless their fellow men.

Let no one think, then, that in assuming a professional career he occupies a position of more intrinsic dignity and nobleness than those who engage in some other kind of work. The demonstration of this must be practical. The patent of nobility is unfolded in the career itself. Its superiority to other pursuits is proved by the greater intensity of its intellectual activity, by its proportion of liberalizing thought, by its larger measure of truth, and especially by the character of its motives and its ends, by the emphasis which it gives to moral obligations, and by the help which it commmunicates to mankind.

2. But all estimates of human work are actually summed up in estimates of *failure* and *success*. I hardly need say that these words cover diverse meanings, some of them quite limited, and some of them very deep.

In the first place, there is the *world's* estimate of failure and success. Of course, to a large extent, this must be an estimate from the *outside;* and I do not say, that, therefore, it is a false estimate. It may be, and I believe that it is, a partial estimate. It may be the estimate which nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand may decide to adopt; but that fact must not hinder me from calling attention to the truth. The world's estimate of success may involve admiration for *ends*, without regard to *means*. Men may glorify the cleverness that succeeds, and not heed the agencies that have secured success. The man has succeeded because he has gained his point, — he has received his office, or made his money, but, I repeat, the world's estimate of success is not, necessarily or utterly, a false estimate. External success is about all the world has to judge by. Outward achievement is, in

some shape, the sign of inward power. No man gets applauded, or holds his place for a long time, who is entirely a sham. Only — to those who will make external achievement the exclusive standard of success — let me urge one point in relation to the co-ordinate conception of failure: let me urge charity. If men fail in their career, according to the world's standard of failure, at least let us think what failure is to *them*. However trivial in its cause or in its kind, consider what darkness it may cast upon the entire horizon of a life! It may be the loss of a reputation, or the loss of an opportunity — it may cover a field as vast as Waterloo, or as narrow as a single human heart. To the boy who misses his school-prize, it is like Bonaparte losing his crown. Sometimes, when you see men whose integrity seems shivering in the wind, and who are evidently using little, mean expedients, do not judge them exclusively by your own standard, you who have never known their *temptation*, but let the light of charity disclose their desperate condition and their spasmodic efforts, by almost any resource, to avert the calamity of utter worldly failure. I am not pleading for any laxity of principle, but simply for that essential operation of charity — a transferrence of thought — which enables us to consider how we might act if the vantage-ground were as slippery to ourselves as it is to another. There is a great Providence over all; but there are times when even spiritual resources almost give way under the pressure of hard fortune. There are occasions when the strokes are so rapid, and the contest so desperate, that one has little opportunity to gather up his thoughts, so that even moral failure may be the concomitant of worldly failure. And so we should find some charitable explanation, if not an excuse, for even failure of the deepest kind. Yes, that wretched creature who reels, discrowned and shameless, no doubt, has made a failure; but then, think what a terrible thing that failure is in itself. Not thinking of this, O, Pharisee in man's broadcloth, or woman's velvet, you have strong reason for asking yourself whether, — neglecting the transcendent law of charity — *you* have not failed in one great point in life fully as much as that degraded one has in another!

With this qualification of charity, then, I am willing to admit that the world's standard of success has a large and legitimate sphere. Apart from all cold and selfish estimates, it must be conceded that lack of achievement often indicates lack of intrinsic power, and that the external symbols of success are attached to some kind of merit that deserves success; and that those who complain of circumstances, and accuse fortune, may more justly accuse themselves. Nevertheless, I say still further, that the world's standard of success is after all only a partial standard. And, however impotent his moralizing may be in its practical effect, he who addresses the young and aspiring is bound to refer to *other* standards.

I remark, then, that there is also a man's own estimate of failure and success, and this does not always run parallel with the standard of the world: at least, it does not in instances where we can allow for any moral sensitiveness. In such cases, one must sometimes be conscious of failing in the very point which others call success. Defeat may not be so dreadful as victory. Take an illustration. Here is a man who has been working for political eminence. He has truckled for it; he has tossed principle to the winds; he has slid into the habit of the serpent and *crawled* for it, and he has attained it; but, on the whole, does he himself reckon it as a success? Or, a man sits down to count his bits of "currency," and every bit seems to be spotted with the tears of the afflicted; or, it looks like a crumb snatched from the mouths of the poor, and he *knows* that he is a selfish, hard, mean man. Does he feel that *that* is a success? If it be so, then there are many successful men in the world. Again, all *lies* are failures—political, financial, ecclesiastical and professsional lies; therefore, those men are failures who are themselves little else than personified lies — sometimes living by their own wit, and sometimes by the lack of wit in others.

On the other hand, in any work, profession, or pursuit, I do not know of any more authentic standard than this — a man may be assured that he has succeeded, when he knows that his aim is a good one, and when he feels that he has ac-

complished his aim. I do not censure him for seeking success in its palpable and conventional forms — I do not rebuke him for seeking money, or influence, or an honorable reputation; but in his deepest solicitude, in his most earnest effort, let him keep close to this — that his purpose is good, and that his purpose he achieves; for, I repeat, notwithstanding its measure of truth and its practical applicability, the world's estimate of success is, after all, a partial estimate. The world looks on at the scholar's work, who has sacrificed tangible gain for a chosen culture — at the artist's work, toiling for weeks on the curve of a muscle, or the tint of a cloud — at that still rarer work of the hero of conscience, or some humble disciple who has preferred duty to profit, and love to gold — the world stands outside all this, and says: "Foolish man! he has labored at his project a great while; he has worked out his theory, it seems, but he has lost money — he might have embarked upon a much more profitable venture; he might have been much more comfortably off." But the man inside all these estimates, with the conception of his purpose in his mind, and its joy in his heart, *he* knows his success; he knows the failure too. He knows how inadequate his achievement is, compared with his ideal; he knows that the great mystery of life is the fact that experience comes so late. But, knowing what to regret, he knows how to forget. In the beautiful words of the French writer — "After the manner of Nature, which takes no cognizance of the past, but recommences at every hour then mysteries of her indefatigable productiveness."

These, often seeming to fail, have then most nobly succeeded. Their apparent defeat was victory. Their narrow means of living were for them a spring of life. In any case, they took the lofty aim, and they achieved their end.

So to you now before me, who are girded for and going forth to this battle, this life-work, I reiterate, in the first place, this very fact, that your professional career is, and must be, in some respects, a *battle*. You must not expect to secure immediate ease, or fame, or fortune; on the contrary, you are entering into a field of active competition; you will meet with many ob-

stacles; you must count upon deprivations, disappointments, discouragements — upon a struggle that may be long and hard; and remember that your professional success, whenever and however it may be achieved, if it be genuine success, will depend upon the *Laws* of all good work. And still further remember, that your work must be judged by the true *Estimates* of success. I hardly need say that you have chosen a needed, a beneficial, and therefore a noble profession. It is a profession demanding large, and liberal, and discriminating *thought;* for you are to stand face to face with the great facts of life and nature; with no bigotry, scientific or otherwise, to freely accept all that is demonstrated to be true, to firmly reject all that is shown to be false. It is a profession that requires heroism. You will be called to confront disease in its hideous and open, or in its masked and subtle aspects — to lay intrepid and skilful hands upon the threads which so closely interweave and so finely separate the contending forces of life and death. And, still again, yours is a profession in which clearness of thought and courage of soul must be mixed with tenderness of heart. Let not familiarity with all forms of human suffering deaden your sympathies, nor even the experience of human meanness and imposition balk the promptings of an often-needed charity. Let not the cold, dry air of science, which enables yon to see clearly, disqualify you for feeling deeply; and let not your knowledge of this wondrous material mechanism of the body paralyze your faith in the inexplicable, all-pervading life that moves it — in the indwelling soul that moulds it — in the Infinite Spirit that alone explains and controls it. But I will not speak as though these suggestions were especially needed. Let me here record my own indebtedness to the profession which you are now to represent, and my grateful conviction of the heroism and faithfulness, the tender and patient ministration, the ample generosity, for which it is distinguished.

The nobleness of your work is in its usefulness. It is a work of help and of healing. You go forth to contend with a host of ills, to confer priceless benefits, to lessen the dreary mass of human misery. To do this work faithfully and well is your

real success. To *know* that you have done this is, above all others, your genuine reward. And in accomplishing this special work you accomplish also that which is incumbent upon us all — you do your *life*-work; for surely there is no one who more completely achieves the discipline of character — more truly attains the end of life, as a man and as a Christian — than he who, faithfully toiling in his own appointed sphere, deserves the title of "A good Physician."

But I ask you to consider just this one thing more: In your chosen work, as in all other work, there is the inevitable condition of what the worker himself *is*, and what he *becomes*, in his work. The great point is what he makes out of his work — what he weaves from it into the texture of his own spiritual and immortal nature. In your special function, as I have said, set face to face with life and nature, in the general condition of men working anywhere, you are also set face to face with the final tests of all human achievements, with duty and with God.

With this conviction, pass to your career — march to the battle, in all your numbers, to add, I trust, to the ranks of beneficial workers who, clothed in stained vestments of the world's labor, or in beautiful "singing robes," — from struggles upward to just eminence, or from great, though humble fields of professional toil — with bruised shields, it may be, yet with faces of calm and holy victory — as years and generations come and go, pass onward, pass upward, brightening under that overarching, final estimate of all — God's Estimate — proclaiming that the worthiest pursuit, the consummate work of life, is LIFE itself.

ARTICLE II.

Clement of Rome.

WE purpose in this article to make an examination of the writings of the above named father, that we may ascertain his doctrinal views, and especially his views concerning human destiny.

Although modern archæologists have discovered many other valuable manuscripts, we have but a single manuscript of the the Epistle of Clement. We must rely, therefore, in our task, upon that with which the world has long been familiar.

Clement, the subject of this sketch, was made Bishop of Rome about A. D. 90, though some, and among them Bunsen, assign an earlier date. It is the general opinion, supported by the traditions of the Church, that he was a fellow-laborer with St. Paul.[1]

His Epistle, which is about as long as St, Mark's Gospel, was held in very high esteem by the early Christians, and publicly read in their assemblies. It is simple and unpretending in character, pervaded with a spirit of trust and fervid piety, which favorably impress the devout reader. With the exception of the New Testament writings it is the earliest record that we have of the Christian Church, and on this account, more than for its intrinsic worth, it has had repute among students. Different churches have claimed with great audacity, if not unscrupulousness, that this Epistle teaches the doctrines which they severally cherish. Thus Prof. Hovey, a Baptist writer, maintains that, though the apostolic fathers have left only a few ambiguous statements concerning the fate of the wicked, these few are in entire harmony with his own belief, and he boldly presses them into the service of that belief.[2]

This method, however, is not unattended with difficulties; for if these early Christian writers really believed the great mass of mankind to be in danger of eternal woe, it is hard to imagine how they could have been so reticent in a matter so grave. Nor is this difficulty diminished when we reflect that theirs was the bold and fearless enthusiasm of believers in a new faith.

But Prof. Hovey's position is particularly unfortunate in its application to the words of Clement, as they tell us nothing of the duration of punishment, while the passage that seems to militate most strongly against the broad faith of Universalism

[1] Vide Phil. iv. 3.

[2] Vide State of the Impenitent Dead.

is more in accordance with another doctrine than the one which Dr. Hovey holds.

An attempt has been made to press a single passage from Clement into the service of those who teach the annihilation of the wicked.[3] He says: "Do we then deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all things to raise up again those who have piously served him in the assurance of a good faith?"

It is claimed that this passage teaches, by inference, that only such as are pious will be raised. Expressions like this of Clement, however, do not satisfy the demands of this theory, for some of the early Christians believed in the immortality of the wicked, though they did not think the ungodly would be subjects of the resurrection. Dr. Ballou says[4] of Ignatius, who lived but a short time after Clement, that he "evidently believed that certain heretics, and perhaps the wicked in general, will not be raised from the dead, but exist hereafter as mere incorporeal spirits." As much may with safety be asserted of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who wrote more hopefully than Ignatius of the destiny of mankind.

The words of Clement, therefore, viewed in the worst possible light, do not bear out the assertions of those who claim him as an annihilationist, while the historical probabilities tend to prove that he believed in the immortality of all.

These considerations in favor of our position are made conclusive by the fact that Clement speaks of immortality as a gratuity; so learned a Destructionist as the late Prof. Hudson[5] being our witness.

All the apostolic fathers whose writings we possess, taught the immortality of mankind.

We are now brought to the consideration of the question, Did Clement believe in a partial resurrection of the dead? Those who think that he taught but a partial salvation of the race, depend almost entirely upon the passage we have already

[3] Chap. xxvi. We follow the divisions of the Ante Nicene Library Series.

[4] Anc. Hist. Universalism, Chap. i. Sec. 4.

[5] Doctrine of a Future Life. Chap. viii. Sec. 6, p. 290.

quoted. It must be borne in mind, however, that such phrases as Clement used do not necessarily imply a limited faith, and that only the connection and the general tenor of the Epistle can guide us in forming a conclusion.

It is clear that Clement found a tendency on the part of professed Christians to disbelieve in the resurrection, and that he asked them if it were "any great and wonderful thing" for God to raise up the pious, because they were of that class, and his appeal pertained entirely to them. Besides, he strengthened his position by this method, for he not only brought it nearer by direct reference, but gained for it a more ready reception. Who has not reflected that it is easier for the common mind to believe in the blissful hereafter of those who walk the earth in the spirit of heaven, than of those who lead ungodly lives? This, however, does not militate against Universalism, for "the things which are impossible with men are possible with God."

We may also mention the fact that some of the early Christian writers, who are known to have been Universalists, use language almost identical with that which we have just been considering. Among such we will cite Theophilus,[6] Bishop of Antioch, and Origen.[7] Nor were they dishonest, for a Restorationist would naturally employ hypothetical phrases to denote the consequences of a temporary rejection of the Gospel. The only thing that makes such phrases sound like the death-knell of hope to a Calvinist, is his creed.

Again, in one place,[8] Clement says that a "godly life is never to be repented of," which, according to the supposition of those who oppose the Universalist view, proves that all other kinds of life will be repented of, and this would prove Universalism, since "The all-merciful and beneficent Father . . . kindly and lovingly bestows his favor upon those who come to him with a simple mind."[9]

We are led here to remark that the frequent use of hypothetical phrases in the Gospel and the works of the fathers,

[6] Letters to Autolycus, Book 1, Chap. vii.
[7] De Principiis, Præf. apud Rufinum.
[8] Chap. liv.
[9] Chap. xxiii.

is not so much for the purpose of limiting the promises, as for the sake of emphasizing the conditions of salvation. Indeed, we believe they are seldom used to hint the extent of God's bright messages of hope, but rather to remind us of the way that leads to their fulfilment. Viewed in this light, they are not exclusive, but inclusive, and thus entirely compatible with a belief in the final salvation of all. And in this view we have the sanction of Clement himself.

In his Epistle, after citing some of the promises and threatenings of the Lord, he adds,[10] "Desiring, therefore, that all his beloved should be partakers of his repentance, he has, by his almighty will, established these declarations"—a passage which not only shows the love of God to unrepentant persons, but corroborates our assertions. We are not only supported by his direct utterances, but still more strongly by the underlying principles of his theology; for how could he have believed, as he did, in the Omnipotent purpose and eternal love of God, without holding such a belief?

An orthodox critic might object, that the severest Scriptural threatenings, such as some of those Clement cites, are inconsistent with this view; but we have only to remind such an one that the early Christians did not consider the limitation of man's probation to this life an essential article of belief. Hence they all believed,[11] with the exception of the Gnostics, in our Saviour's "Mission to the Underworld;" and were inclined to take a hopeful view of those who had "died in their sins." Besides, many of the fathers were Restorationists, as in the course of this article we shall prove Clement to have been. We will now proceed to exhibit still farther the outlines of our author's theology.

His ideas of God were of the most exalted kind, as we gather, not only from the general tenor of his Epistle, but in a clearer manner from such declarations as "*The all-merciful and beneficent Father*," [12], and "*Reflect how free from wrath he is toward all his creation.*[13] He also believed in His perfect

[10] Chap. viii.

[11] Christ's Mission to the Underworld. Huidekoper. Sec. 1.

[12] Chap. xxiii.

[13] Chap. xix.

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Omnipotence, and calls him the "*Ruler of all Spirits and the Lord of all flesh.*"[14] He taught the perfect love of God: "He is good to all,"[15] and "prepared bountiful gifts for us before we were born,"[16] among which was "life in immortality;" and attaches rewards and penalties to his law, "that *all* his beloved should be partakers of his repentance."[17] Indeed, the love that God has towards sinful men filled Clement's heart, and led him to the height of holy enjoyment. As a consequence, he ardently believed in the doctrine of human brotherhood. His words[18] are, "Let us be kind to one another, after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator." And we learn what he thought the love and tender mercy of God to be, for he tells us, "We are to seek the common good of all, and not merely our own advantage.[19] Having deduced this doctrine from the same premises that we do, he proceeds to carry its application as far as any Universalist could desire.

Commenting on the intercession of Moses for Israel, he says,[20] "O, marvellous love! O, insuperable perfection! The servant speaks freely to his Lord, and asks forgiveness for the people, or begs that he himself might perish along with them."

Could anything be more in accordance with the spirit of a liberal faith, or more repugnant to low and narrow conceptions of the divine government, than such sentiments? Indeed, so completely does divine love fill the entire horizon of Clement's thought, that there is not very large place for fear in his system.

Many persons have been terrified by vivid descriptions of the evil one, and even many of the early Universalists had much to say about him, but Clement never mentions him, nor makes the slightest allusion to his existence. Our bishop looked upon God as the active Controller of all things, and the direct Author of all punishment. This feature is quite noticeable in many parts of his Epistle.

[14] Chap. lviii.
[15] Chap. xx.
[16] Chap. xxxviii.
[17] Chap. viii.
[18] Chap. xiv.
[19] Chap. xlviii.
[20] Chap. liii.

In perfect harmony with the outlines we have given, he is remarkably chary of the word Hell. He has, indeed, told us in two [21] instances that Dathan and Abiram "went down *alive* into hades," but his object was to show the evils of envy and sedition, and not to paint the terrors of the hereafter. The whole connection shows this; and besides, there are few who will contend that probation ends before the close of this mortal life. He also quotes [22] the words of David — "If I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there," but principally to show that God's Spirit is there, and that his presence "comprehends all things."

We have now examined all the places where Clement uses the word hell; and we would have the reader note the way in which it is mentioned, and the infrequent use that is made of it, that he may see the proof of our assertions. In harmony with his lofty estimate of the Eternal Love, he had a high sense of man's responsibility, and the obligations which God's kindness imposes. Consistently with this, he often calls upon men as accountable beings, capable of choice, to serve the "one living and eternal God."

He seems also to have believed in future retribution, or punishment. One example must suffice to show this. He says,[23] "Let us fear Him, and forsake those wicked works that proceed from evil desires, so that, through his mercy we may be protected from the judgments to come; for whither can any of us flee from his mighty hand? or what world will receive any of those who run away from him?" The above, like several other passages from his writings, seems to comport best with a belief in future retribution, a doctrine which the early Universalists appear to have held in common. Clement, however, never describes punishment as everlasting, nor does he use any epithet to express its exact duration. He also recognizes very prominently the present punishment of sin, and his writings abound with instances thereof. He does not often speak directly on human destiny, but leaves us, like Athenagoras and Clement of Alexandria, to infer it more from the

[21] Chapters iv. and li. [22] Chap. xxviii. [23] Chap. xxviii.

principles he lays down, than from his direct utterances. God's love of sinners, the mission of Christ, human brotherhood, the disciplinary object of punishment, and the eternal purposes of the Almighty, are distinctly recognized.

In a passage which we have already quoted, after citing some of the promises and threatenings of Holy Writ, he observes, "Desiring, therefore, that all his beloved should be partakers of repentance, he has by his Almighty will established [these declarations,"] — words which not only assert God's paternal care for men, but the disciplinary nature of punishment. What a strange contrast between such views and the teachings of those theologians who suppose that "God elected *some* to everlasting life" and passed by "the rest of mankind;" and how utterly irreconcilable with the views of those who would have us believe that the Creator punishes merely to vindicate his justice, and not for the reformation of the sinner! Indeed, the principles of Clement are so strongly Universalistic that we can only escape from admitting that he held such a belief by supposing that he thought it possible for men to defeat the purposes of God. Happily we are not left in doubt upon this point, for if he is ever "doctrinal," it is when he asserts the Omnipotence of God. The following are his words: "Let His faith, therefore, be stirred up again within us, and let us consider that all things are nigh unto him. By the word of his might he established all things, and by his word he can overthrow them. Who shall say unto him, What hast thou done? or who resist the power of his strength? When and as he pleases he will do all things, and none of the things determined by him shall pass away."[24] Thus the last vestige of uncertainty about his principles is removed, and Clement is seen to have held the glorious doctrine of a world's reconciliation to God.

Some, like Cotelerius, understood him to quote[25] Isa. liii 9 in such a way as to make it read, "I will set free the wicked on account of his sepulchre, and the rich on account of his death."

[24] Chap. xxvii. [25] Chap. xvi.

We do not know whether there is sufficient warrant for such a rendering, but it tallies well with the context, and has been adopted by Hefele and Dressel. If we allow this translation, it will be seen that Clement openly announces Christ's descent to the underworld, and his victory over the power of sin.

In another place[26] our author quotes with evident approval the Scripture which says, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession," to which he joins, "Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool."

What Clement understood by the promises contained in these words we do not know, but our knowledge of his theological opinions leads us to conjecture that he gave the full meaning to these grand promises of Holy Writ. Besides, such a view would be more honorable to Christ, whose glory he was there seeking to magnify, than any other. If we are right in our conclusions, this passage lights up the long, mysterious pathway of immortal life with the brightness of Christian hope.

But a much plainer declaration is found where he tells[27] us —"And we, too, being called by his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, *but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men.*" We suppose none will forget that whom God has justified, "them he also glorified," and least of all, accuse the reputed companion of the great apostle of any remissness in this respect. Who, then, is so blind that he cannot see in such a vision a representative of human frailty in the arms of Infinite Love?

But we have not yet exhausted the light that the Roman bishop pours upon his page. He continues the subject in the next chapter by adding, "What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we become slothful in well-doing, and cease from the practice of love? God forbid that any such course should be followed by us! But rather let us hasten with all energy and

[26] Chap. xxxvi. [27] Chap. xxxii.

readiness to perform every good work, for the Creator and Lord of all himself rejoices in his works." Well might Neander say [28] that these words are written in a Pauline spirit, for we are reminded by them of the language of Paul when he says,[29] after speaking in the strongest language of Universalism, "What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?" We would like to ask, if the theology of Calvin and Edwards ever displayed such riches of divine love, as to be amenable to the charge which was brought against the early Christians?

Well, then, might Neander use such an epithet when speaking of our author, since the Universalism of the Christian bishop is almost as avowed as that of the great apostle to the Gentiles. And how utterly antagonistic to all Limitarian theology is Clement's almost exclusive reliance on love as a motive! We may as well expect the clouds to cast no shadow as to suppose it possible for sincere believers in eternal woe thus to lose sight of a terror so awful, in their appeals to sinners. Indeed, they think that the great weakness of Universalists consists in relying so largely on love.

How assuring are the words of this early teacher of our faith, and how clearly they enable us to trace its direction and progress. First is seen Christ, who taught it in parables full of wisdom and comfort; "Afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming;" while following these, we seem to see "a great multitude, whom no man could number, of all kindreds, and people, and tongues." And the connection which we trace through the centuries is nothing formal, but the vital union of hearts which throb with the sympathy of a common hope. What a corroboration, also, of our interpretation of the Bible, to find that the most ancient of the epistles of the "Apostolic Fathers" is warmed and lighted up with the brightness of a faith in Christ's universal dominion! And what an appeal to us to be worthy of such a glorious line of Apostolic Succession as the pages of history are beginning to reveal!

[28] History of Christian Dogmas. Vol. i., page 216. Bohn's Edition.

[29] Rom. vi. 1, 2.

Article III.

Modern Utilitarianism.

It is commonly said that the Anglo-Saxon race — in England and in America — do not care much for philosophy. They break away impatiently from abstract investigation as dry, impractical, unreal. Mr. Mill, who has done much to redeem both countries from this reproach, has not been slow to recognize its truth. Speaking of England, in particular, he says: "The celebrity of England, at the present day, rests upon her docks, her canals, her railroads. In intellect she is distinguished only for a kind of sober good sense, free from extravagance, but also void of lofty aspiration. . . . Out of the narrow bound of mathematical and physical science, we find not a vestige of a reading and thinking public engaged in the investigation of truth *as* truth, in the prosecution of thought for the sake of thought."

What was true five and thirty years ago, when these words were written, of the mass of Englishmen, is in a great measure true, not only of Englishmen, but also of Americans, at the present time. There are now, as there were then, voices heard crying in the philosophic wilderness, earnestly protesting against the neglect of speculative studies, and doing their best to revive public interest in them, but they have not succeeded to any extent in creating schools of philosophy. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that they have not exercised a very potent influence on popular beliefs. Distasteful as the process of abstract thinking may be to the generality of men, they are not slow to receive passively the impress of philosophical doctrines. The conclusions of the thinking few are caught up by a multitude of facile writers, illustrated, repeated, inculcated in a thousand different ways, and duly echoed by the myriad readers of our newspapers and magazines. Philosophy in solution is imbibed by the million, passes insensibly into the tissues of society, is cherished with

egotistical enthusiasm, and fought for with as much undoubting, energetic persuasion as if it had in each individual been the product of deep reflection and the outcome of a severely logical train of thought. Even those who are ready, with the sophists of ancient Greece, to clamor that all philosophy is vanity and vexation, unconsciously retail at every hour of the day maxims which are the result of the prolonged meditations of the studious *elite*. We may despise them as empty-headed parrots, mimics, who have merely caught a trick of speech or a peculiarity of gait, but not the less are they a tremendous power, if not to originate, at least to propagate and transmit. It becomes a duty, then, for those who would check the irreligious development of their age, to trace them to their germs, and to show how much that the incautious and unthinking repeat and disseminate is in fact connected with errors which, if stated nakedly, would shock most minds and be instantly rejected.

Now it happens among us that the very same practical tendency of mind which indisposes men for metaphysical speculation leads those who do think at all to interest themselves chiefly in metaphysical philosophy. This at all events is not removed from the concerns of every-day life. It stands in the most evidently intimate relation to political and social systems; it addresses itself to the conscience and the feelings which are common to all men; it touches chords which vibrate in every bosom; it attempts to answer questions which force themselves upon all minds, and excite in all an interest at once personal and important. In countries which are distinguished for respect of law and order, and the intense strength of their religious sentiments, the close connection between moral philosophy and the Christian religion ensures for the former a respectful hearing and a comparatively wide-spread interest.

But here, again, we might, from the mere consideration of the characteristics of our minds, prophesy without much misgiving what experience testifies to be a fact, that, of the two contending schools of ethics, that one would number the most disciples, and be popularly the most influential which should

seem the easiest, the most tangible, the most practical, and which should put the theoretic powers to the least strain and tension. Now there are two grand schools of philosophy which, at all times, more or less, but especially since the days of Descartes and Locke, have divided the world — the sensational or experimental, and the *a priori* or rational. In ethics, the former represents man as swayed exclusively by motives of pleasure or pain, and bases all morality on utility; and in religion, when it has any, it lays stress upon reassuring, mild and comfortable doctrines rather than upon an exacting and high theology. And even when, as in Scotland, the prevalent form of religion has been most favorable to the rise and stability of the *a priori* school, still, the ground taken up is not by any means so high as finds acceptance in France or Germany, when occupied by such men as Descartes and Cousin, or Kant and Hegel. English and American writers of this school commonly resolve the moral faculty into a native principle, distinct from reason, supreme, indeed, and imperative in its dictates, but rather of the nature of a sentiment than of an intellectual intuition.

Whatever the modifications may be, however, which various authors have introduced into the rational theory, and whatever their success in the past, or in particular circles at the present time, there can be little doubt that the utilitarian school has been steadily advancing in popular favor, and threatens ere long to become dominant. We say threatens, for although adherence to the principal tenets of this school does not necessarily involve the assumption of a position hostile to Christianity any more than *a priori* views in ethics secure a belief in either revealed or natural religion, yet the tendencies of the former are as remarkably unfavorable to theology as those of the latter are favorable. If the one set of doctrines easily allies itself with rationalism or pantheism, yet handled by a man like Bishop Butler, it promotes a deeply religious spirit. If the other does not directly attack religion, yet it diverts the mind into other channels, and by fastening the thoughts upon material things produces a distaste for

higher subjects. For half a century the best talents have been studying matter and the affections of matter. There is no surer road to riches and renown than to find out some new means of bodily enjoyment, convenience, comfort. Along this road, accordingly, unprecedented progress is continually made. Utilitarianism springs out of this state of things. It is of modern birth, and is a national spirit, analyzed, systematized, thrown into form.

It can be little cause of wonder that such a system should succeed. A seer who prophesies smooth things to his countrymen is likely to be well received. When men are eagerly devoted to temporal and material interests, the thought of God and the prospects of a future life are not only strange, but irritating to them. A system of ethics which upholds a native and necessary perception of the distinction between good and evil; which traces the idea of obligation up to the essence and order of the universe; which appeals to sanctions flowing from the eternal justice of God, is an unpleasant intrusion upon the comfortable dreams of the worshippers of Mammon. Progress fears to be arrested by prophets who direct the thoughts rather to the unseen world than to the seen, and who hold cheap what the multitude prizes most highly. Their followers are few and their message unheeded or disliked.

But let men of science, already highly esteemed for their acquaintance with subjects of general interest and their sympathy with natural tendencies, excogitate a theory of morals which calms the conscience by representing God and the soul and its future destiny unknown and unknowable; as possibly fictions of our semi-barbarous, rough, cultureless ancestors; as objects about which it is waste of time to speculate, seeing that the fact of their existence is wholly beyond our power to ascertain; and there will be no lack of willing auditors to receive such doctrines without inquiry. Let them throw into their dissertations a dash of elevated sentiment, and talk of being penetrated with a sense of duty; of "all knowledge as chiefly a means of worthiness of life, given for the double purpose of making each of us practically useful to his fellow-

creatures, and of elevating the character of the species itself, exalting and dignifying our nature;" let them speak with respect of religion in general, and advocate the study of ecclesiastical history as a means of giving information, and training and helping us "to form our own belief in a manner worthy of intelligent beings, who ask for truth at all hazards," and they will be extolled on all hands as large-minded, liberal and honest. Even the religiously disposed will be thrown off their guard by an appearance of fairness and a total abstinence from the outspoken infidelity of other days. A negative theology with a corresponding negative philosophy does but sing a lullaby to startled consciences, and accompany the heedless dance of the giddy crowd with sweet strains, which complete the gratification of the senses by imparting that which it so much desires — a feeling of present and future security.

Mr. Mill, in his work on Utilitarianism, is anxious to defend the system from the charge of godlessness. He says,

"If it be a true belief that God desires, above all things, the happiness of his creatures, and that this was his purpose in their creation, utility is not only not a godless doctrine, but more profoundly religious than any other. If it be meant that utilitarianism does not recognize the revealed will of God as the supreme law of morals, I answer, that a Utilitarian who believes in the perfect goodness and wisdom of God, necessarily believes that whatever God has thought fit to reveal on the subject of morals, must fulfil the requirements of utility in a supreme degree." [1]

Accordingly, Mr. Mill treats the objection with no little contempt:

"We not uncommonly hear the doctrine of utility inveighed against as a *godless* doctrine. *If it be necessary to say anything at all against so mere an assumption*, we may say that the question depends upon what idea we have formed of the moral character of the Deity." [2]

Now Mr. Austin, in his lectures on the "Province of Jurisprudence," though a most decided Utilitarian, connects the

[1] Utilitarianism, pp. 31, 32. [2] Utilitarianism, p. 31.

theory with the Divine benevolence, in the manner of Bentham. God designs the happiness of sentient beings. Some actions forward that purpose, others frustrate it. The first God has enjoined; the second, he has forbidden. Knowing, therefore, the tendency of any action, we know the divine command with respect to it.

It would seem that Mr. Mill is not entitled to maintain the freedom of Utilitarianism in the abstract, but as it is found in certain authorized combinations with other theories not directly ethical. As expounded by some authors, it may be perfectly compatible with theism and some sort of religious, or even dogmatic belief. But the question is, whether Mr. Mill's Utilitarianism, and Mr. Bain's — for we confine ourselves at present to these two leading thinkers on that side — is consistent with any form of Christianity, or even with natural religion, or, at the very least, whether its tendency is not to scepticism and materialism.

According to Mr. Bain, the sole end and ultimate standard of morality is the well-being or happiness of mankind. But we must be on our guard against confounding this happiness with what the scholastics call *beatitude*. He limits his ideas to the present state of man's existence to the welfare of human beings living together in society. Society is then the summit of happiness, when the sum of human pleasures is at its maximum, and the total of human pains at its minimum. In his elaborate work on mental and moral science, there is no word of any other end of man, no hint of the possibility of an after life. Historically, indeed, he says, that morality has been founded, not only on utility, but also on sentiment, caprice, arbitrary liking or disliking. Those utilities which are indispensable to the very existence of man in society, have of course always been recognized, and have formed the basis of the primary moral duties. The interests of *security* are the first and most pressing concerns of human society. Whatever relates to this is of paramount importance. Society cannot exist long without such duties being observed, and hence the rules which enforce them may be said to be eternal and im-

mutable; if by eternal we mean permanent in the present state of things, and if by immutable, not subject to the caprice of custom, which could not change them without sacrificing the very being of society. But the sentiment is essentially variable. In rude and imperfect communities it will differ widely from the tone of more polished and civilized nations, and hence the manner of carrying into effect the primary relations of society will vary also. For example, the family bond is essential to the existence of society, but sentiment rules its form. In one age or country, polygamy will be the custom, because opinion for the time being pronounces that the best form. In another, monogamy will become compulsory, and its opposite be deemed immoral, because that particular form of the family happens to be judged to be best by legislators. The proof adduced of this position is characteristic. There must be an ultimate end, and for that no proof proper can be offered; it must be received as self-evident, and its sole authority is the person receiving it. In other words, it is a final assumption, to be tested by reference to the individual judgment of mankind. Now the judgment of mankind seems tolerably general in favor of happiness, in the sense above given to the word, as the supreme end of human conduct, morality included. If the primary law of the will, according to which each one of us for himself seeks pleasure and avoids pain, present or prospective, were not interfered with by fixed ideas operating under the influence of feeling, and creating impassioned, exaggerated, irrational motives or ends, there would be perfect unanimity on the subject. As it is, men have in a great measure looked to the temporal welfare of society as their main end. They are tending to, and may ultimately adopt without reservation, this end as the sole object to be aimed at. Even of the Ten Commandments, that offspring of religious sentiment, six are distinctly utilitarian; that is, have no end, except to ward off evils, and to further the temporal well-being of mankind. Gradually, men are emancipating themselves from sentiment. The observance of religious acts is passing out of favor as morally binding. The indissolubili-

ity of marriage, which similarly arose from a sentiment, is rapidly tending toward the same fate. We hope some day to see the human race abandoning all standards of morality which have ever competed with utility. What better evidence could be given that utility is *the* moral standard *that ought to be?* Moral right and wrong, then, is a code of regulations based upon the experience of the human race and by consequence, that moral faculty which some have supposed to be simple and innate, is in reality a complex fact of the mind, arising from education under government, or authority, which comes in aid of prudence, sympthy, and the emotions generally, to stamp upon actions the peculiar attribute of rightness. We learn by degrees, under the influence of government, enforcing its rules by punishment, to disapprove that which wounds our self-interest; and the natural emotions of sympathy lead us to extend our disapprobation to actions which put others to pain. This is an outline sufficiently accurate of the leading divisions of Mr. Bain's ethics.

Surely there can be no need of showing that such a system is in direct conflict with revealed religion. It distinctly assumes that the subjective judgments of individual men are the ultimate court of appeal. Religious worship in any form is reduced to an affair of sentiment. The idea of God as a legislator is simply passed by without the slightest notice.

Farther, natural religion is treated with the same sort of contemptuous neglect. Morality takes no cognizance of the relations between God and the soul. Its horizon is limited to society and the present life. Why, but because Mr. Bain starts in psychology from the assumption that the sphere of of human knowledge or experience (the words in his system are synonymous) embraces two departments only, popularly called *matter* or *mind* — scientifically, the *object* and *subject*, of which the former is exactly circumscribed by one property — extension — and the latter is the sum total of self-experiences, or the three functions of feeling, will and thought? From the very outset, it is taken for granted that God and the soul, as a spiritual substance, are not objects of human knowledge.

Their existence is not denied, any more than we deny the existence of any undiscovered star, but they need not and ought not to be taken into account, because they are undiscovered and undiscoverable. Atheism is not asserted, but theism is decidedly rejected. It would be absurd to admit any assertion, positive or negative, about what cannot be known; and atheism and theism *are* the negative and positive poles of assertion concerning the being of an unknown God. The proper attitude of the mind under these circumstances or conditions is that of pure scepticism. Rather even scepticism says too much, for it supposes that there are reasons for either alternative, though not strong enough to determine the mind to any conviction, and therefore leaving it in the state of doubt. The last description of Mr. Bain's position is that which Mr. Huxley gives of his own — he is not a sceptic, he merely professes *nescience* — a state of utter and irremediable ignorance.

The same remark applies to the question of the immortality and spirituality of the soul. We need not ask about either the one or the other, till we have settled the preliminary question whether there be such a thing as a soul or a mind. But this is a question Mr. Bain declines to answer. There are sensations and emotions, in a word, feelings, which include all pleasures and pains; there is will or volition, which means all actions of human beings in so far as impelled or guided by feelings; there is thought or cognition in all its branches; that is, there are properties, or functions, subject experiences, which may be defined negatively as the absence of extension; but whether they are properties or functions *of anything*, is more than we can hope to find out. We may call them, collectively, mind and soul, provided we always declare or imply our ignorance as to the existence of anything or substance corresponding to the name. Such a doctrine only escapes being materialistic by declaring that we can know nothing as to the reality of things, either of mind or of body. At the same time, its explanation of spiritual functions is materialistic in its terms.

Take the will, for example. The essence and primary element of the will is the spontaneous activity of the human frame — an energy of the nerve centres of the body rising and falling with the vigor and nutrition of the system, and when fully charged, requiring, like the battery of the torpedo, relief, by pouring itself out upon some object or other, without any stimulus from without. This given, and the law that pleasure is connected with increase, and pain with decrease of vitality, feeling becomes linked with spontaneity by the law of self-conservation, and we have all that is necessary to constitute the human will in its undeveloped state. Nothing more is required to constitute the mature will, the volitional power in its full development, than a process of education, through the association of pleasure and pain, with various movements, and the acquired power of feeling, to command movement. All volition, consists, then, in putting forth muscular power. All voluntary control is muscular; through the muscles, feeling and thought are managed and commanded. Such a theory of the will leaves no room for the idea of freedom or moral responsibility. The will is an organic function, simply subject, like any other function of the organism, to the general laws of causation. Pleasure becomes its sole motive, which it must obey, and there is no system of ethics left that will fit into the theory except utility. That system is uniformly adopted by sensational and experimental philosophers, and in judging of it as propounded by them, it must not be valued according to the isolated merits of the one idea of utility, but be regarded in its integrity, and with the theories from which in reality it sprung.

Mr. Mill's answer, therefore, to the charge of godlessness against the utilitarianism now professed by scientific men and advocated by himself, is founded on a misstatement of the question at issue, and is calculated to throw the unwary off their guard. It cannot be too often repeated that, however some phases of utilitarianism are compatible with belief in natural and revealed religion, that particular form of it now in vogue is absolutely irreconcilable with either. Mr. Mill, like

Mr. Bain, raises his system of ethics upon a foundation of sensational psychology: *Arcades ambo, et cantare pares et respondere parato.* He maintains that all our ideas (which must not be supposed to include general concepts, which are the pernicious fiction of philosophers) sprang from sensation, and are manufactured into their present form by the laws of association—these laws being those of contiguity in time and place, and of resemblance — of contiguity among, or resemblance between things presented to the mind from without, from an unknown, external world, originating, for anything we know, fortuitously. Though obliged to assume the objective reality of matter, at least in the forms of speech we adopt, we are not therefore to suppose that we are rationally justified in asserting its existence independently of our sensations, any more than in asserting that our sensations and perceptions reveal to us the existence of a thinking mind. Both are alike mysterious and unknown. We talk of matter and mind, but these are convenient formulæ for the incognisable, external cause, to which, from a tendency of the human mind, we ascribe our sensations, and for the similarly incognizable recipient or percipient of sensations. But by another tendency of the mind, the different name comes to be considered the name of a different thing. But that it is in fact different, is more than any one can tell. We think of the mind as a unity, but the idea of unity arises simply from permanence. Mind is a permanent possibility of sensations, thoughts, emotions, volitions. Where is the room for the freedom of the will when moral ideas are formed, like all others, out of sensations of pleasure and pain by means of associations which are determined by outward circumstances? What have we to do with any other than temporal and material happiness, if we know nothing of its possibility? or with moral government other than that of society, if we are in sheer ignorance of the existence of God?

We are not refuting these systems at present (but in all probability shall attempt it in some future number.) Our only object now is to show the unwary, who may be captivated

by the high-sounding phrases and lofty sentiment common among our contemporary utilitarian moralists, that the system is intimately bound up with doctrines concerning God and man and the universe, which no Christian of any denomination can possibly entertain. At the mention of Christ's name, Dante represents Virgil as sad and disconsolate:

"*Chinò la fonte e piu non disse e rimase turbato.*"

Not less dreary is the outlook of these philosophers upon all the great questions which lie beyond the sphere of sensation and experience. The practical result of their doctrines is the same as if they were atheists, though, not liking the just stigma attached to the profession of atheism, they are irritated at any application of the name to themselves. Nevertheless, they are sowing among the rising generation dragon's teeth, which may hereafter spring up armed men, working havoc and destruction with religious institutions; nay, with that very social order, which they themselves prize so highly, but which, by raising it to undue and supreme importance, they are condemning to inevitable collapse and ruin.

ARTICLE IV.

John Woolman's Journal.

The Journal of John Woolman. With an Introduction by John G. Whittier. "The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever."—Isaiah. Boston. James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

THE strongest and the best evidences of Christianity always have been, and, doubtless, always will be, found in the pure lives of consistent Christians. In the early Christian Church, the piety and the purity of the believers in Christ contrasted with the impiety, profligacy and licientousness which were then the characteristics of society, won the admiration of all who observed the fact; and this practical illustration of the truths of Christ won more converts than anything else. The

love of the persecuted Christian believers for their enemies, as manifested in the fact that during the prevalence of a contagious disease they did not fly the city, as did all others who could, but remained, and ministered to the wants of the dead and dying, making no distinction between enemy or friend, aroused the admiration of the Roman Emperor, who remarked the fact as a proof of the superiority of Christians to pagans. At the present, when dogmatism is losing its grasp upon the minds of men, and a broad charity is taking its place, it is pre-eminently true that our Christian character is judged solely by the fruit it bears. It may, perhaps, be always necessary for "Christian Evidences," after the style of "Paley's Evidences," to be studied by scholars and theologians, but to move the heart and to convince the mind, another class of Evidences is of vastly more worth; of such greater worth that conversions can hardly be made without them.

It is a pleasure, to have the privilege of reading such a book as we now have under consideration; to know, even through the medium of print, such a life; to commune with such a soul as was John Woolman's. We can heartily assent to those good and true men who have borne their testimony to his character, so pure, so true, so sincerely Christian. In this edition the words of Charles Lamb are on the title-page: "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart." In his Essays, this charming writer refers to this Journal in terms of warm commendation. Henry Crabbe Robinson, a man of wide and varied culture, the intimate friend of Goethe, Wordsworth and Coleridge, thus speaks of the impression made upon him on reading the Journal: "A perfect gem! His was a beautiful soul. His moral qualities are transferred to his writings. His religion was love. His whole existence, and all his passions were love. His Christianity is most inviting — it is fascinating." "William Ellery Channing expressed his very great surprise that the book was so little known. He pronounced it beyond comparison the sweetest and purest autobiography in the language." Whittier has written a very beautiful poem on Woolman; and that this edition of the

Journal is introduced into the world by Whittier is sufficient recommendation of its beauty and its goodness. Such testimony as this book has received attests its goodness and its Christian character — testimony which seems tamely expressed when we read and meditate on the words this saintly man has left us.

It is not our purpose to say any more of Woolman's outward life than that he was born "in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720, of Quaker parents; that he became a minister of that body after their form, or, rather, their want of form; that he was not learned nor rich; that he died in York, England, October 7th, 1772. The purpose of this sketch is to show his pure and truly Christian spirit, earnest only in the cause of truth and righteousness, caring for nothing else in comparison.

John Woolman's Christianity was eminently practical. While he labored long and anxiously to gain a knowledge of "pure truth" for himself; while his prayers and meditations for light and guidance were as earnest as those of a Roman Catholic devotee; yet he wished always that this should achieve such a work upon himself that he might do good works for all men. He was no convert to the modern fallacy that it makes no difference what a man believes in so that his life be right, but lived in the practical advocacy of the maxim, "Make the belief right that the life may be right." He wished for the purest and the most light in his own soul; he cautiously guarded himself lest at any time he should go farther than the divine leadings. He wished to know the will of God concerning him, and studied to found himself on that will as it was revealed to him through the Word and the Spirit. And his life shows what are always the effects of a reliance upon God, a submission to his will, and an intelligent and prayerful application of the Gospel of Christ, i. e., a pure and a sweet spirit within, and the life without filled with good works. This idea is more clearly stated in his own words:

"I was early convinced in my mind that true religion consists in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and rever-

ence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward all brute creatures; that, as the mind was moved to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being, so, by the same principle, it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world; that, as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in all animal, sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and at the same time exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, is a contradiction in itself."

In accordance with this principle he lived from his early youth even to his last days upon earth. How early this was manifested we see from his account of an incident which happened when he was but a lad, but which made a strong impression. This was but the common boyish trick of killing with a stone a bird which he had frightened from her nest, which exploit at first filled his boyish mind with delight:

"But after a few moments I was seized with horror at having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was caring for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them. After some painful consideration on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds and killed them, supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably. In this case I believed that Scripture proverb was fulfilled — 'The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' I went on my errand, and for some hours could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus he whose tender mercies are over all his works hath placed a principle in the human mind which incites to goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but when frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition."

His mind was a practical commentary upon the views here set forth. Wherever he saw distress, his loving soul agonized with sympathy, and his mind instantly set to work to devise means for its relief. In the latter part of his life he took passage to England in the steerage. While there he was led to

observe the hard life of the common sailors, their incessant labor, their many privations, the abuse they sustained from their officers, the few pleasures and hopes connected with their hard life, and their coarseness and wickedness in thought and word. Much anxious thought did he have because of these things; much did he aid them in word and deed, and much did he hope he would be able to do something for them as a class. But his life was too short. Those who have ever travelled upon a Mississippi River steamboat, and have seen the hard work which the deck hands do, the abuse they receive, their brutality, and then remembers how little he cares to investigate the causes of their hardships, how little he mingled with them, how little he sympathized with them, can form some idea of the kind heart of John Woolman, for between the sailors of his day and the deck hands of ours, there was much similarity in all respects.

The temperance reform found in him an advocate many years before the agitation concerning it sprung up. The reasons for which he advocated this reform are, however, *sui generis*, and but little like the reasons now urged for its adoption. "It causes," he says, much inconvenience." Also it causes unnecessary labor to obtain that which is of doubtful good after it is obtained. "By not attending to that use of things which is inconsistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labor beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us."

But his great life work was in inducing his people, the Friends, to abstain from exporting, buying, selling and working slaves. Before he began to agitate the subject but few had thought of the foul wrong of slavery, especially as it concerned the slaves themselves, and no practical means were put in operation for its suppression. In his day, Newport, Rhode Island, had quite a slave trade. Many ships owned by rich and respectable Friends made their annual voyages to the slave coast, which were quite remunerative to the worthy Friends who engaged in that trade, which is such a practical commentary on Christ's doctrine of the brotherhood of man. But men

and women who were good, faithful and conscientious Christians thought it no harm either to import, to trade in or to own slaves. The Friends, like every one else who was able in those days, owned slaves, and treated them no better, nor any worse, than their neighbors. During all his life long Woolman made this the prominent theme of his meditations and prayers, the chief labor of his life. He labored at all times and in every practical way for the abolition of the slave trade. He entered into the work from principle; that it was wrong; contrary to sound reason, to pure truth, to the doctrines of Christianity, and especially contrary to the doctrine of the Friends.

But he was no wild, unreasonable, unreasoning fanatic. He pursued his purpose steadily and unflinchingly; and yet all his words and actions were so animated by, and filled with genuine love and tender kindness that he offended few of those who were opposed to him. He urged his views upon the attention of his brethren so candidly, so kindly, and in such a spirit of humility and love, that he won them to him, and had the happiness, before he died, to see his people almost free from the curse of slavery, and this without any clamor, or bluster, or noise. In a quiet, consistent, common-sense way, Woolman went to work, appealing to the sense of justice and right that is never appealed to in vain, if rightly approached.

His conduct in all this work is a lesson to the would-be reformers of the present day, who wish to conquer *vi et armis*. Their heated manner, angry debate, and fierce attempts to coerce by law, are in painful contrast to his humble yet sincere demeanor, his words of gentleness and reason, and his using no arguments but living appeals to the moral sense and earnest prayer to God. And he succeeded in his work.

The first record we find in the Journal of his thoughts on this subject is the mention of an incident which occurred when he was about twenty-two years of age, and the incident shows two facts: First, that even at this age his thoughts on this subject were completely matured; that he was sure the keeping of slaves was inconsistent with the Christian religion; that he

was resolved to do what he could against it; and second, that he was the first among his people to advance this idea. We give the incident in his own words:

"My employer, having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being in waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though I felt uneasy at the thought of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow creatures, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her, so through weakness I gave way and wrote it; but at the execution of it I was so afflicted in my mind that I said before my master and the Friend that I believed slavery to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This, in some degree, abated my uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience, for such it was."

He gave way this time, but it was the last time. From this time forward he gave a great portion of his time, his thoughts, his meditations and his prayers to the accomplishment of this one work: the putting away the accursed thing by this Society all over the world. In this respect he was a true apostle, a true disciple, following closely the example of the Master in devoting his life to the uplifting of the down-trodden, preaching deliverance to the captive, setting free those who were in bonds, preaching the Gospel to the poor. In every way in which he could do any good for the oppressed negro, he went to work. He talked privately among the members of his Society; he discussed the subject with strangers upon the highway; he spoke against it in the stated meetings of his people. He aroused the attention of the Friends upon this subject by appeals to reason, conscience and right; by arguments from nature and revelation, until they began to see as he saw. He then induced the several Yearly Meetings to take action upon the subject within their several limits. First, committees were appointed to wait upon the more influential Friends to talk the matter over in a friendly way, and induce them voluntarily

to set their slaves free. Upon these committees Woolman, by his earnestness, his humility and his kindness, naturally found a place, and a chief place. To arouse his people to take this stand upon the question, even to debate it, he took many very extensive journeys throughout the colonies, from Massachusetts to North Carolina. He prepared a petition on the subject to present to the legislature of Rhode Island, and wished to speak before the delegates on the slave trade, but circumstances prevented. Besides, he wrote essays on the "Keeping of Negroes," to be used as Tracts. When he had wrought the people up to the proper pitch, he then began to induce the several Yearly Meetings to make the keeping of slaves a matter of church discipline; and he finally succeeded, in most states, in ridding the Society of Friends of slavery, no Friend being allowed to hold slaves. Most of the slaves were set free and provided with means to earn a living for themselves. The Friends seldom sold their negroes to get rid of them, but voluntarily set them free and bore the loss themselves.

Throughout this entire struggle Woolman was never betrayed into severity either of manner or of language, but conducted himself in all respects as a true minister of Christ, pure and blameless. To his exertions is due the stand the Friends took upon this question; from him, as their source, came all the anti-slavery agitation in the United States. And Mr. Whittier says that the French, the English and the Russian emancipators, as well as the American Proclamation, had their origin in John Woolman. We quote from the Introduction:

"The influence of the life and labors of John Woolman has by no means been confined to the religious society of which he was a member. It may be traced wherever a step in the direction of emancipation has been taken in this country or in England. During the war of the Revolution, many of the noblemen, officers connected with the French army, became, as their journals abundantly testify, deeply interested in the Society of Friends, and took back to France with them something of its growing anti-slavery sentiment. Especially was this the case with Jean Pierre Brissot, the thinker and statesman of the Girondists, whose intimacy with Warner Mifflin, a friend and

disciple of Woolman, so profoundly affected his whole after life. He became the leader of the 'Friends of the Blacks,' and carried with him to the scaffold a profound hatred of slavery. To his efforts may be traced the proclamation of of emancipation in Hayti by the commissioners of the French convention, and indirectly the subsequent uprising of the blacks and their successful establishment of a free government. The same influence reached Thomas Clarkson, and stimulated his early efforts for the abolition of the slave trade: and in after life the volume of the "New Jersey Quaker" was the cherished companion of himself and his amiable help-mate. It was in a degree, at least, the influence Stephen Grellet and William Allen, men deeply imbued with the spirit of Woolman, and upon whom it almost might be said his mantle had fallen, that drew the attention of Alexander I. of Russia to the importance of taking measures for the abolition of serfdom, an object the accomplishment of which the wars during his reign prevented, but which, left as a legacy of duty, has been peaceably effected by his namesake, Alexander II. In the history of emancipation in our own country, evidences of the same original impulse of humanity are not wanting. In 1790, memorials against slavery from the Society of Friends were laid before the first Congress of the United States. Not content with clearing their own skirts of the evil, the Friends of that day took an active part in the formation of the abolition societies of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Leading Friends were known throughout the country as the unflinching champions of liberty. One of the earliest of this class known as modern abolitionists was Benjamin Lundy, a pupil in the school of Woolman, through whom William Lloyd Garrison became interested in the great work to which his life has been so faithfully and nobly devoted. Looking back to the humble work-shop at Mount Holly from the standpoint of the Proclamation of President Lincoln, how has the seed sown in weakness been raised up in power."

This seems to be extravagant ascription to the influence of a single, unlettered, humble, weak, Quaker preacher, and one is irresistibly reminded in reading it of the marvellous influence ascribed to the capture of Fort Casimir in "Knickerbocker's New York." "By the treacherous surprisal of Fort Casimir," — named after the breeches of the governor — "then did the

crafty Swedes enjoy a transient triumph, but drew upon their heads the vengeance of Peter Stuyvesant, who wrested all New Sweden from their hands. By the conquest of New Sweden, Peter Stuyvesant aroused the claims of Lord Baltimore, who appealed to the cabinet of Great Britain, who subdued the whole province of New Netherlands. By this great achievement, the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia to the Floridas, was rendered one entire dependency upon the British Crown. But mark the consequences: the hitherto scattered colonies being thus consolidated, and having no rival colonies to check or keep them in awe, waxed great and powerful, and finally, becoming too strong for the mother country, were enabled to shake off its bonds, and by a glorious revolution became an independent empire. But the chain of events stopped not here. The successful revolution in America produced the sanguinary revolution in France, which produced the puissant Bonaparte, who produced the French despotism, which has thrown the world into confusion. Thus have these great powers been successively punished for their ill-starred conquests; and thus, as I asserted, have all the present convulsions, revolutions and disasters that overwhelm mankind, originated in the capture of the little Fort Casimir, as recorded in this eventful history." Both, however, may be true, and it is pretty certain the former is.

One of the most noticeable qualities of this Quaker preacher was his humility, or rather his want of the self-assertive quality; for his humility was by no means of the cringing, hypocritical, Uriah Heep kind; but it was a true, Christian meekness that listened so intently for the promptings of the Spirit as to leave no room for coarse and vulgar self-assertion. It was not a fearful or craven humility that made him fear to face opposition; for he stood up most nobly for what seemed to him right, in spite of any opposition. But this lowliness of spirit was a permanent and controlling trait—was an attribute of his life. It colored his whole character, not making him weak and nerveless, but subduing and controlling passion, and making him calm in the midst of his boldest utterances,

it prevented him from becoming a rude and blatant fanatic, arrogating to himself superior wisdom and holiness, and from looking upon all who refused to accept his views with arrogance, scorn and derision. His example as the head of a reform which has finally destroyed slavery from among civilized nations, is such an one as would do many modern reformers good to read and ponder upon. By so doing, they would discover the proper manner of procedure; would learn what effects true Christian humility has upon both the progress of reform and the soul of the reformer. In both of these respects Woolman was a true follower of his Master; both in the final and complete accomplishment of his plans and the sanctifying influence upon the soul itself.

This humility was the ripe fruit of the prime idea of his sect. The idea that all true wisdom is prompted by the spirit of God, leads man to think little of the medium through which that wisdom is communicated, but to pay all attention to the utterances themselves, not regarding the body, but regarding the spirit. This leads men to think little of themselves, viewing themselves only as mediums, through which the Holy Spirit should utter the pure truth. Thus hero-worship is prevented and nobleness of soul engendered. His life is a true and a pure example of what Christian humility is; and the reissue of this book seems very opportune at this time, when the old-fashioned virtues of simplicity and truth are being crowded to the background by the brazen and bedizened qualities of impudence and self-assurance. The example of such perfect simplicity, even if it does *sometimes* become simplicity in a somewhat verdant sense — such genuine humility needs to be thrown into modern society that these qualities may tone it down and soften its rudeness. The soul upon which this book makes an impression will be purer, sweeter, more perfect ever after; and a perfume will linger in the mind long after the thoughts themselves have departed, as the scent of flowers lingers in the drawer after the flowers themselves are withered and scentless.

As an example of this virtue, take the following, and think

how few in a heated debate on the Temperance Reform, or on Woman's Rights, would act in so Christian a manner. There was a debate at a Yearly Meeting on the subject of lotteries, against which he objected, as when did he not take the right view? He says,

"In the heat of zeal I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. . . After some close exercise and hearty repentance for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and, reciting the passage, acquainted the Friends that though I durst not go from what I had said in regard to the matter, yet I was uneasy with my manner of speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savor among us."

We should think so; and no one will censure the good Friend for his very mild and innocuous self-appreciation, as seen in the last sentence.

Those who have followed us thus far can form a very good conception of the religion which was the foundation of John Woolman's life and character. We were careful in searching this out in the words he has left us, and we find that, as may well be supposed, his religion was love; for no character containing such kindness, such gentleness, such tender regard for the welfare, and even for the feelings, of all with whom he came in contact, could be formed from harsher or colder materials than love. Love to God, raising and inspiring the soul in its more precious and ecstatic moments; the love of God for him and all his creatures being the constant theme of his meditations and holy communings; love to man, and all the creatures of God's forming hand was the necessary resultant. Harsh and cruel religious beliefs may make the soul firm for its duty, but nothing can so soften and purify, nothing can so sweeten the soul, nothing can make it so constant as love. It is love that arms the soul for warfare against evil, and for erring humanity; it is love that sweetens the joys of life; love

even casts a halo of brightness and beauty over our adversities and sorrows, as God causes his bow to be seen above the darkest cloud

Every one approaches Christ's life by love; this is the road to God and goodness. This truth is plainly set forth by the life under consideration. While a youth, Woolman, though born of Quaker parents, fell into evil and dissipated courses. Several times he made vows of reformation; several times he fell; but at last he was lifted out of the mire and placed on solid ground. What was it that allured him from sin to righteousness? The fact that he felt in his soul that God had created him and man for better things; that he was abusing and destroying the gift of God to him; the consideration of God's desires, mercies and blessings displayed toward him. He was not driven to repentance by any fearful thoughts, but drawn by the sweet influences of the Holy Spirit. In his meditations and thoughts on God and his Providence no earthly thought intrudes. The entire atmosphere is pure, holy and spiritual. All of his thoughts on this subject are singularly sweet and full of the purest heavenly radiance. The influences of the Holy Spirit; the constant watching for the presence of, the constant communion with the Holy Spirit; the continual consciousness of God's presence ever abiding with his soul, drove out all unworthy, base, and earthly thoughts, and made him all tenderness, love and spiritual beauty.

If such a life as this is the legitimate result of the peculiar doctrines of his sect, it is a sad pity that it is losing its influence. It is true, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that this prime idea of the Friends' doctrine is a true Christian idea, and one worthy of more attention than it often receives. The idea of God's presence with us so intimate, manifested in so plain a manner that his Spirit suggests and guides our thoughts, is a true, a beautiful idea, and one that is a vital necessity to a godly life. While we would not advocate the seeming surrender of our faculties to the influence of the Spirit, as the Friends do, yet the idea, properly considered, is one of the sources of Christian character and true piety. That God is

with us always, suggesting, inspiring, helping, would render us free from self-assertive dogmatism, would deliver us from darkness, make our souls tender and beautiful, and render our lives pure, kind and charitable.

While John Woolman had his faults — to show us, doubtless, that there is but One whom we can take as our example — they were the faults of his ignorance, and sprang from a good intention, though wrongly conceived and put into operation. His virtues were his own, educated and developed by God's Holy Spirit.

Article V.

Caleb Rich.

Caleb Rich was born in Sutton, Mass., August, 1750. His parents were members of the Congregationalist Church at the time of his birth, and he was "christened" after the manner of that church while an infant.

When yet a young man, there arose a fierce controversy between the Baptists and Congregationalists in regard to doctrine and discipline. The former remembered how they had been persecuted for their religious convictions, driven out of Massachusetts, and compelled to seek shelter among the Indians in the land of Miantonomo. There they had been taught to love and defend what Roger Williams, their great leader, called "*soul liberty*." They had grown mightily in numbers, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in the confidence of their ability to defend their faith. Finding their land too narrow for them, they spread out into Massachusetts and Connecticut, and commenced offensive operations. They were a zealous people, and well read in the Scriptures. They soon stirred up a lively commotion by their fierce attacks upon the "Standing Order." Learning, wealth and prestige were against them, but they were more zealous, and more familiar

with the letter of the Bible, and fiercer and more resolute in their attacks and defence. They claimed more practical piety, and made a more direct appeal to the hopes and fears of the people. They accused the churches of callousness and formalism in their religion. They were, in fact, kindling the fires which afterwards swept over New England in the name of "Religious Revivals." They invaded the churches and converted old saints to new ideas and new modes of action. Families, churches and communities were divided by their opinions and became hostile to each other, which was boldly claimed as a proof that the Spirit of the Lord was with them, for he had foretold that such consequences should follow the preaching of the Gospel.

The parents of Mr. Rich were not indifferent to the merits of the discussion. The father became especially interested. Possessing a strong, independent and reflective mind, he took an active part in the opposition, but was fully resolved to treat all fairly, and to investigate thoroughly the questions in debate, that he might find where the truth lay. He thought the subject important enough to justify such a course. His house was often the arena of hot debates. Young Rich became deeply interested in the controversy, listened attentively to the arguments on both sides, and searched the Scriptures closely to find which was right. The difference was then thought to be great and vital, demanding the most serious consideration. The thought that they could ever unite, and both be regarded "evangelical," never flitted across any mind. An impassable gulf was between them; but some leaped over it, and the father was one of them. The Bible was now studied more devoutly than ever, and finally the father and son joined the "Baptist Persuasion," while the mother retained her place in the "Standing Order." After this the discussion was continued in the family for a long time. Caleb strove resolutely to understand the Scriptures that he might convert his mother. In this way he became more familiar with the written Word.

The Baptists in those days were great "Scripturians." Their preachers were rarely men of learning. They possessed

few books, and had little desire to read anything but the Bible. "Book-larnin'" they despised as anti-christian, and relied on the direction of the "Sperit." Many of them had strong common sense, loved and exercised religious liberty, and those who received "a call to preach" went about their work resolutely, as the defenders of the faith. Their people generally had small opportunity, and some, little desire for intellectual culture. Common schools, for long years afterwards, were of the commonest kind. Newspapers and periodicals were rarely seen — few existed in the land. Amusements were forbidden as sinful; and so about the only food and entertainment for the mind were sought in the Bible, in the few discussions of religious topics, and in public worship.

Young Rich had a strong bodily organization, an active and vigorous temperament, a logical and penetrating mind. He discerned rapidly and clearly; he was peculiar in his ability to make others see what he saw himself. Possessing an humble, warm and generous heart, he won the confidence of friends and the respect of his enemies. His opinion on points of doctrine and passages of Scripture was often sought while yet a young man, and he soon became a sort of leader among his companions, and often a counsellor to his elders. His inquiries, awakened by reading, naturally led him beyond the topics in controversy between the two sects to others of deeper significance and broader range, and his mind became deeply exercised on questions which have since called out learned and elaborate discussions by the stoutest minds in the land. The mystery of the Trinity, Vicarious Suffering and Substituted Righteousness, Election and Reprobation, Endless Misery, and cognate doctrines, he could not understand. They seemed inconsistent, unscriptural, unreasonable and needless, as articles of faith; he could not adjust them with the manifest unity of the Bible.

The doctrine of endless misery he could not harmonize with the plan, purpose and promises of God as plainly revealed, nor with the attributes of his character, the spirit and work of Jesus, and the best desires and prayers of all good Christians.

To the solution of the difficulties connected with this doctrine his study of the Scriptures was specially and devoutly directed. All seemed very dark; at length, light broke dimly upon his mind; He saw clearly and felt deeply the love of God towards sinners; he found no exceptions, no limitations to the love of God in Christ, to the will of God, or the work of Jesus. "God will have all men to be saved," and Jesus "tasted death for every man." At times all seemed clear to him; then dark clouds would roll back over him: the authorities of the church, the elders, the believers, they would have found it out if taught in the Bible; it could not be true; yet, those passages stood there, scattered all through the Bible. He suggested his difficulties, but his inquiries were met with a frown, as idle suggestions of the Devil, to be resisted and rejected at once. He was silenced, but not satisfied; he did not see clearly enough to state his half-formed convictions, though he began to have hope, and to "see men as trees walking." He pursued more thoroughly his investigations in the light of his only authorities — the Word, reason and the guiding of the Spirit. He wandered in the twilight a long time before the Sun of Righteousness shone on him in the full blaze of a complete salvation for the race — but he was on his way through the wilderness, and approaching the promised land.

In this condition of mind he reached his majority, when, with several other Baptists, he went to seek a home in the forests of the North. He located in Warwick, close to the borders of Winchester and Richmond, N. H. This was in 1771. Several Baptist families had already settled in that region, and a small church had been formed in Richmond, over which Rev. Maturin Ballou, father of David and Hosea Ballou, had been ordained pastor. Not long after, meetings were established in the neighborhood of Mr. Rich, which had preaching only occasionally; and when no preacher was present, they had lay meetings. In these Mr. Rich was usually called upon, as "the best read and most gifted, to lead the meeting." In his reading and "expounding of the Scriptures," he often expressed his difficulties in reconciling the doctrines preached with the

simple language of the Bible. He could not see how the acknowledged goodness, wisdom, will and power of God, so plainly revealed, could be harmonized with vicarious punishment and endless misery. He did not present his convictions with hastiness, but put them forth as inquiries, to which he invited the attention and aid of his brethren, that they might help him come to a knowledge of the truth. Several entered readily into sympathy with him, and they prosecuted their researches together, vigorously, but cautiously. They soon came to believe that God desired, designed, and planned the salvation of the world by Jesus Christ, and sent him to finish that work, for which he gave him all power in heaven and in earth, and, of course, believed that he will certainly accomplish that great and glorious work, and God be all in all.

The course taken by Mr. Rich on his way out of the toils of Calvinism was, that God *created* all men in Christ, pure and holy in spirit; but when he *formed* them in Adam, out of the dust of the earth, man became subject to vanity, and so "sin, as we call it," originated in the flesh, and ended with the same. The spirit, being of heavenly origin, remained pure, though blended with our mortal bodies — as pure metals are the same before being separated from the earth and dross, as afterwards; as wheat is the same before being separated from the chaff — and hence the consequences of sin end with the flesh. The reader may find Mr. Murray's criticism on the opinions of Mr. Rich in his Fifty-one Letters, p. 308 of his Works. At one time, before coming into a full belief of the doctrine as above stated, and which he advocated to the last, he believed that the elect were *created* in Christ *before* the fall, and would certainly be saved, while those added in the *formation* afterwards would be annihilated.

Crude as his notions may seem to us, they cost him much study and anxiety, and were the grand opening into the clearer light which now shines upon the world. Once relieved from the bonds of limited grace and salvation, he found his way into the liberty that is in Christ, and joyfully embraced the substantial faith of the salvation of all men by Jesus Christ. At

first he did not assert his faith nor attempt its proof, but pondered deeply and studied hard to see if those things were so. He quoted extensively the passages which had wrought conviction in his mind, and urged the prayerful consideration of them upon others, that they might come to know what they did signify. He, with a few others, soon became so filled with the Holy Spirit of love, grace and truth, that they could not remain silent, but spoke openly of their deliverance from the fears that had tormented them, and of their blessed hope in the salvation of all men from sin and death, the joy it afforded them, and the increased sanctions it gave to all the commandments of God. Instead of loosening the obligations to love God, to live pure, and to do good, it brought them under greater restraint, allowed no one any excuse on the grounds of being non-elect, of total depravity or inability; but by making them conscious of the love of God to them and to all men, it showed them that it was their manifest duty to obey God and love one another.

Very soon these new views began to be discussed by the people. Mr. Rich was beset by many who desired to know the grounds of his hope, but others showed strong opposition. Full of the spirit of a doctrine so fresh and so congenial to the purest and noblest impulses of the human heart, he and his fellow believers were astonished and pained by the frowns, sneers and open contempt cast on them by the "elders and leaders of the church." They expected better things of them; that they would heartily rejoice to learn that their prayers were to be answered and their labors to be crowned with success; that they were to meet their friends and all men, redeemed from sin, sorrow and death, on the shores of a blessed immortality; that Jesus would be victorious over all evil, and be crowned the Saviour of the world. It seemed to them impossible that good men and Christians should oppose a hope of universal holiness and happiness. If opposed at all, they thought it far more natural and consistent that the opposition should come from unbelievers and wicked men. But they remembered that Jesus was persecuted and crucified by the pro-

fessors of religion, who thought themselves better than others, because he was the Friend of publicans and sinners, while the common people heard him gladly.

Scarcely had the "new doctrine" begun to attract attention and find friends before steps were taken to prevent its spread. A meeting of the church was called for the "purpose of receiving new members, and trying old ones for heresy." Caleb Rich, Nathaniel Rich and Joseph Goodell were formally arraigned "for errors in doctrine; and, after a course of most unfair treatment," in which they "were not allowed to give a reason of the hope that was in them," they were "set aside and disowned, and people were warned against them as heretics." The church refused their request for a certificate as non-conformists, whereby they would be exempt from taxation to support the "Standing Order" imposed by the Provincial Law, alleging that "those men are unfit to be regarded as *natural men*, and that their church should not partake in their disgrace." They also were "strictly forbidden to talk, exhort or pray with believers." They thought it better to obey God rather than men, and so continued more zealously to "expound the Scriptures with reference to the New Doctrine." They thought it very strange that believers in Election, Foreordination and Effectual Calling" should be afraid of what they could say against the truth, or do to jeopardise the salvation of any. We smile, at the shallowness of the arguments used to oppose free inquiry, and the methods adopted to oppose and prevent the spread of new ideas by the authority of the church. But we know little of the struggles of the early advocates of our faith, or the strong hostility arrayed against them.

To combine their strength and save themselves from being taxed to support what they did not believe, they called a meeting in legal form, to "organize a new Religious Society." When met, they made choice of their principal members as a a committee to give certificates to the members of their society, and "when chosen (curious to relate) it took the whole of the society to make one committee, according to the law" of the colonies relating to Dissenters. There were but three

in the society. This was the first approximation to the organization of a society in America of believers in the salvation of all men. This was in the early part of 1773. The next year, seven new members were added. The good work had begun; the seed had been scattered and was springing up; the morning star had risen; light began to break through and penetrate old theologies and give indication of a brighter future.

The Baptists strove hard to bring back those wandering sheep from the green pastures to their dark and narrow pen; but it was impossible. Mr. Rich retorted, "Once in grace always in grace. If we are elected, it is well; if we are reprobated, nothing can save us; it makes no difference; it is of God, not of us — all is foreordained. We shall hold fast our profession without wavering till convinced we are wrong."

Meetings were held on Sundays by this little band in private houses, and "sometimes people came a long way," from Winchester, Richmond and Royalton, "to hear the New Doctrine," for so it was called. Thus matters continued till the breaking out of the war of the Revolution. On the first call for the people to arise and enrol for the defence of their country, Mr. Rich with a few neighbors started for the field and joined the army at Cambridge. While they lay inactive about Boston, he received a furlough and went to visit his friends in Oxford and Sutton.

While there he was persuaded to explain his "new views, of which they had heard no good." He did so in several places, and the people became so deeply interested in them that they persuaded him to change with his brother-in-law's hired man, who wanted to go to the army, and remain and work for him and teach from the Scriptures on Sundays. He says in his narrative, "We sometimes had as many as thirty hearers, and some came six or eight miles. We taught from house to house, and often continued our speech till midnight, or break of day, contending earnestly for the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and often reading chapter xi. of Romans." During this time he made a journey

to Thompson in Connecticut. The people heard of his coming, and collected together and desired him to preach a sermon. He replied that he never preached in the usual form, but he was willing to expound the Scriptures to them, which he did the greater part of one day and night, and gained some proselytes. He says farther, "When my time with my brother-in-law expired, the brethren in Sutton, Oxford, Charlton and Douglass numbered forty or fifty persons."

It is not difficult to trace to this small beginning the origin of those societies which acted the most prominent part in the early history of Universalism in this country, and led to the formation of the General Convention. Let this fact be kept in mind when making a proper estimate of his influence in the origin and spread of the better faith. "Honor to whom honor."

On the expiration of his term of service, he returned to Warwick and was gladly received by his friends. They at once established their religious meetings, and found the rest of the brethren more ardent than ever. They continued as before to read, sing, pray and exhort, and especially to expound the Scriptures. The Bible was their chief preacher — "the man of their counsels." Each read, or prayed, or sung, or spoke, as the Spirit directed, and all were edified. God blessed their pious labors; many joined them from the region round about; they increased in knowledge and spiritual understanding; overcame much of the asperity of their enemies, and won the esteem of many who belonged not to the church. Few doubted their sincerity; all respected their honesty and frankness, and could not gainsay their morals. Happy flock! Their hearts were warm and humble; their worship primitive and devout; their faith strong in the Lord, and their hopes without a cloud. They loved one another, God blessed them, and they praised his holy Name.

Mr. Rich, being "the most gifted speaker," was urged forward as their leader and defender. Soon his speeches assumed the character of sermons — not of the modern type, but such as were preached by Baptists, Methodists and Universalists

fifty years ago. They had little rhetorical polish, not much of science, art, æsthetics, history, or the common events of life. They were made up largely of scriptural quotations, explanations and comparisons, and arguments aimed at the contradictions, unreasonableness, unscriptural doctrines and irreligion of the dominant theology. He always spoke extemporaneously and with little inspiration beyond his deep religious convictions, a heart full of the love of God, and great familiarity with the Scriptures. He was thoroughly in earnest to convince and convert to the truth, to persuade to holiness and God. He possessed in a large degree the elements of an eloquent and successful preacher. He lacked two things—a suitable education and confidence in his own ability. Had he been better prepared in youth he might have overcome his extreme modesty, and stood forth as some of his successors did, in the front rank of Gospel preachers. He was peculiarly fitted for his time and place, and doubtless did as much for the cause he espoused by his humble and retiring manner, his plain and steady defence of the truth on Gospel grounds, as could have been done by a more refined and pretentious course. He certainly succeeded in drawing around him, thus early, a band of conscientious, earnest men, who greatly aided in the permanent establishment and dissemination of the opinions and principles he advocated. He did what he could, and God rewarded him.

Mr. Rich was soon called to "expound the Scriptures" in neighboring towns — in Winchester, Richmond, Jeffrey, Swansey, Chesterfield, Royalton, and other places, where he found friends ready to receive the New Doctrine: but his labors were mainly performed in his own little village, in Winchester and Richmond, where converts were more numerous. "A General Society" was organized, composed of members from the towns before named, for the purpose of confirming and strengthening the believers. Numerous articles were adopted, expressing and explaining their faith, their views of church government, and their personal and social duties. We have seen them in the handwriting of Mr. Rich, who composed them. They were very prolix and unwieldly, and would

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be acceptable to few churches at the present time. They contained not only a full statement of the doctrine they embraced, but the arguments and Scripture proofs, also the duties of Christians, distinctly and forcibly presented. There was no laxity in this respect. They claimed the purest system of morals of any sect in Christendom, as a necessary result of the doctrine. Each person was made a member of the church in full fellowship, free to accept the outward ordinances or not. In principle they embraced what is now professed by Universalists, but at that time the *name* was not known.

About this time a new trial awaited Mr. Rich. He had an attachment for a young lady, a member of a very respectable Baptist family, to whom he paid his addresses. The parents opposed him on the ground that he had embraced heretical doctrines and been turned out of the church. They objected to his visits, but finally consented to hear an explanation of his views. He says: "Of course, when I went there, I contended with the parents, and children who had come to years of discretion. My labor was to convince them of the importance of embracing the true religion in the days of their youth, and of knowing the Scriptures. . . Thus by the help of God I was so successful as to gain both parents and children, and obtain the consent of the whole family, and in January, 1778, we were married."

Having succeeded so well in his efforts as "an expounder of the Scriptures," he now assumed the position of a regular preacher. He held meetings as other preachers did, and after the sermon always gave opportunity for remarks from any in the audience. At one of his meetings in Richmond, Thomas Barnes was present from Jaffrey. He had come devoutly seeking light and truth and peace, which, though a Baptist, he had not yet found. He stated his difficulties, propounded his questions, and became a convert to the "New Doctrine. He was among its earliest converts, and became one of its devoted and prominent defenders.

A question arose about this time as to the right of Mr. Rich to solemnize marriage. The Cheshire County Court of New

Hampshire admitted his right, but many objected to his performance of that service because he had not been ordained. It was therefore determined to have him ordained over the "General Society;" but how should it be done? They had heard that a certain Englishman, a Mr. Murray, had arrived in this country and was preaching the same doctrine at Cape Ann, and occasionally in Boston, but they had never seen him.

There was another preacher of similar faith of whom they knew more — Elder Adam Streeter, who preached in various parts of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and to him they dispatched a request that he would come to Richmond and assist in the ordination of Mr. Rich. He was present, and on that occasion he was the harbinger of good tidings. This event stirred the country all round about. Not less than three hundred persons were present at the service, and these related the events of the day, and the arguments and illustrations they heard to three hundred more. This was in 1781. David Ballou, an elder brother of Hosea Ballou, and James Ballou, a distant relative, were present, both of whom afterwards preached the doctrine; the latter but rarely. His son Silas preached sometimes, but was better known as the compiler of a hymn book.

Mr. Rich now entered into the labors of the ministry with redoubled ardor, resolved to consecrate himself more entirely to the great work. The influence of the "new doctrine" was soon felt. A stability was given to it, and many rallied to its support and rejoiced in its glad spirit. Its enemies aroused their forces to prevent its advancement. Finding their arguments unavailing against men more thoroughly read in the Scriptures than themselves, and who had reason, philosophy, and the wishes and prayers of all good people on their side, they resorted to the course too commonly adopted in such cases — that of refusing all candid investigation, and treating with disdain all who would not surrender at their demand, denouncing them as the enemies of religion, emissaries of Satan, and unworthy of respect. But this did not move them. They

held fast the profession of their faith, and strove to show its more kindly spirit in the purity of their conduct, by loving, forgiving and serving their enemies. They endeavored to show their better faith by their better works. They soon established a reputation for honesty, uprightness and benevolence which won the respect and confidence of the people. They were reckoned among the kindest neighbors and the best citizens.

The Baptists then turned and assailed them from a new quarter. They asserted that they trusted in their "*good works* for salvation, and not in the atoning blood of Christ," and so were going from bad to worse, becoming the enemies of the cross of Christ, and now, more than ever, deserved damnation for rejecting Jesus, taking away the virtue of his sufferings for sin, and leaving for the elect no better chance than if Christ had not died for them. Mr. Rich retorted, that if they were elected from before the foundation of the world, they must be safe, and his preaching could not harm them. It was for those who were not so elected, for those who were without God and hope in the world, that he was concerned, to make them as comfortable and happy as he could, with the help of God. He did not wish to interfere with their work, with the righteous. He desired to show unbelievers and sinners the love of God in Christ, and what had been done for them, even the chiefest of sinners, and to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which had been hid for ages — that Jews and Gentiles were fellow-heirs and partakers of the same promise in Christ. He was confident the preaching of such a doctrine could harm no one who believed it.

Mr. Rich was present at the organization of the General Convention at Oxford in 1785. He says in his Narrative:

"In the year 1785 I received a circular letter from Oxford, signed by Dr. Fisk, requesting me, in behalf of that society to give said letter circulation to all the societies where I had labored, to meet in Convention at Oxford, which was done accordingly in September following. When we met, we organized ourselves into a Convention, and, if my memory serves, Elder

Adam Streeter was Moderator, and Dr. Fisk Clerk. Bro. Zephaniah Laythe was present at that meeting, but was conscientiously scrupulous in putting his hand to a paper covenant. He said it savored too much of formality, and therefore he did not act with us; and so there were only two public speakers that acted in that Convention, viz., Bro. A. Streeter and myself. We adjourned to meet again at Oxford in 1786, at which meeting our brethren John Murray and Elhanan Winchester and Z. Laythe joined and acted with us. We again adjourned to 1787, to meet at Oxford, on which occasion Bro. Hosea Ballou met with us, who has attended all our General Conventions ever since, and must be possessed of much more information from that time than myself."

Mr. Rich must have forgotten the dates. It was in 1785 that Murray and Winchester attended the Convention which was then fully organized, and the name UNIVERSALIST, adopted as the title by which those who believed in the salvation of all men have since been known. It was in 1791 that Hosea Ballou attended the General Convention with his brother David, but he did not commence preaching till his return to Richmond. The first meeting alluded to was held in 1784. We had this from persons who were present from Providence, R. I., at the second meeting in 1785. From the second meeting he returned to his devoted flock, as he said to one of them — "with a heart satisfied with the fulness of joy. Oh, it was a blessed meeting! I shall never forget it."

In 1791, Mr. Rich attended the Convention held that year in Oxford. David Ballou, who had been preaching more or less for two years, was there from Richmond with his younger brother Hosea. Mr. Murray and several others were present. At such meetings Mr. Rich did not allow himself to be put forward as a preacher; he was needlessly sensitive to his lack of education and refinement as a speaker. He felt as deeply as any the importance of the good faith, and was as ardent as any in its defence, where he felt himself qualified for the work. But he possessed the rare virtue of humility and self-abasement in a large degree. He was strong and resolute in the maintenance of his convictions by Scripture arguments,

and clear in the statement and defence of his opinions; but thinking he lacked the qualities of a popular preacher, he was never willing to thrust himself into a place that could be better filled by others. His heart was as full of joy and gladness at the progress of the good work as if he had been the most prominent advocate of it. He envied no man, nor was he jealous of another's praise. Universalism had not then honor for selfishness, nor flatteries for the vain, nor places for the undeserving. It tempted none to break the Tenth Commandment.

Immediately on their return, Mr. Rich and David Ballou urged Hosea to become a preacher. He concluded to do so, and to commence forthwith, by way of trial. Both were present, and many others, who were curious to hear what the "young man" would say about a doctrine so vitally opposed to what his father had preached. His effort did not satisfy himself, nor fully convince the "Elders" of his ability to preach. It certainly did not augur his future eminence as a preacher. But they encouraged him to persevere. Mr. Rich was his firm friend, and felt a lively interest in his welfare, doing all he could to aid him in the beginning of his ministry, which has wrought so effectually for the reformation of religious opinions, and for the comfort and hope of many Christians. And Mr. Ballou had the utmost confidence in Mr. Rich, accepted largely his views of the doctrine taught in the Scriptures, as the basis of his system of faith and interpretation, and profited by his advice in many things.

After continuing his labors in the region where he lived for more than thirty years, and having seen many advocates of the "Abrahamic faith more able than himself commence the work," he was induced to follow his children and relatives who had removed to the western part of Vermont. He settled in New Haven, where he resided till his death. Although he had been ordained in Richmond, it was thought best to have a re-ordination, to prevent any troubles which the clergymen of the "Standing Order" were disposed to make. This took place in January, 1803. J. Babbit was ordained in Jericho the same month.

Walter Ferris, a young man of splendid talents, highly cultivated, and of a catholic spirit, resided in Charlotte, a town adjoining New Haven, and preached in that town, Monkton and Hinesburg. He framed the "Profession of Belief," which was adopted without the change of a word, at Winchester, the following September. Mr. Rich was consulted as the Elder, as well as Mr. Ballou, who had removed to Barnard, Vt., in February of the same year, in regard to the Profession. Mr. Ferris had been placed on a committee, raised on his motion, to organize under some avowal of principles by which they should be recognized as a Christian denomination, separate and independent of the Congregationalists. His right to marry people had been disputed; and in New Hampshire the Supreme Court had decided that Universalists had no existence in law, and must therefore pay taxes to the "Standing Order."

Besides, Mr. Ferris, like Mr. Rich and many others, saw the importance of organization and union on a Christian basis; but being strictly independent and free, they believed the briefest, simplest and broadest, the best. The committee was wisely chosen. Zebulon Streeter was a man of calm and dignified demeanor, not bound by any special form of words, but understood to favor the Restorationist view of salvation; George Richards was a convert of Mr. Murray, and favored his views of the Trinity, Vicarious Atonement and Imputed Righteousness, as set forth in Relly's Union, from which Murray never advanced one step; Hosea Ballou was a disciple of Rich, and accepted the essentials of his views; Walter Ferris rejected the sacrificial theology, and virtually the doctrine of the Trinity, but favored the "Final Restoration," as expressed in the Profession; Zephaniah Laythe was a strict follower of Winchester. Mr. Ferris, in frequent consultation with Mr. Rich as the Elder in the church, (with Babbit, from whom we learned these facts) was understood to express his views, but insisted himself on the word *restore* instead of *save*, as equally expressive, and more acceptable to certain brethren. A fairer, clearer and more definite statement of an essential

Christian belief, could not have been made. It was unexceptionable and essential, and after the adoption of a resolution that "*no alteration* should be made hereafter," it was unanimously adopted. Until 1867, nobody desired to alter it, nor dreamed that an "interpretation" was needed for the "guidance" of the denomination.

Mr. Rich continued to preach as long as health permitted in the region of his home. Several remain who used to listen to him in his earnest services, and speak of his arguments as clear and convincing. He was decidedly a man of argument. All who knew respected him for his honesty and frankness. He used to speak joyfully of the rapid spread of his views. He was moved to tears when he heard of new preachers proclaiming them. He lived to see them widely disseminated and fairly respected. To embrace them was no longer to be socially ostracised. More able advocates had arisen, and he prayed devoutly for their greater success. One nephew became a member of Congress, another a judge, and a grand-son a preacher — Charles Rich Marsh, who died in Montrose, Pa., while yet young.

Mr. Rich finished his course on earth and passed through the vale Oct. 18, 1821, aged 71. His wife followed April 1, five months later. Of their death their physician wrote: "He, during a long and painful illness, manifested a great degree of reconciliation, and died in the faith he had promulgated for so many years to the world of mankind. . . . She, after an illness of about two months, resigned her spirit into the arms of Jesus, who had been declared to be the Saviour of all men. I was requested to write that he left three sermons, written in full, on interesting subjects; also his life and religious experience, his trials and exercises of mind, which many of his friends desire may be published." [1]

To this brief account of the *real founder* of American Universalism, might, with great propriety, be added, a contrast of his religious opinions and the effects of his labors, with those

[1] This "Narrative" was published in the "Candid Examiner," Volume ii., pages 179, 185, 193, 301.

of Mr. Murray. His views, though crude and undigested, have had a far greater influence, not only upon Universalists, but also upon other sects, than those of his more eloquent and distinguished compeer in the great reformation. He was a man of ready perception and close thought, of quick intuitions, of a free and broad mind and a catholic spirit. He was not a bigot as to system or name, but an honest and ardent seeker after truth. He was not dogmatic nor dictatorial, but kind, humble and generous towards all men.

Alluding to Mr. Murray, Mr. T. Whittemore says, (Life of H. Ballou, Vol. i., p. 160), "While he could bear with great patience and serenity, contradiction, and even abuse, from men opposed to Universalism, it was difficult for him to endure even *slight* differences[2] of this kind from those who had professed to receive the doctrine. Mr. Rich, on the contrary, was glad to know that other minds were earnestly seeking for truth, who were free to express and bold to defend their honest convictions. While he cherished his own views, he tried only by persuasion to fasten them on others. He esteemed no one the less for differences of opinion.

We need not here specify the differences in doctrine, farther than to allude to the fact that the peculiar views of Mr. Rich in regard to the *creation* of men in Christ, pure and holy, before they were *formed* in Adam; that sin originated in the flesh, and ended with it; and other doctrines which were adopted and defended in the Treatise on Atonement, a work which probably did more to call attention to Universalism, and help forward the great theological revolution of this century than any other single work ever published. Upon this subject our beloved elder brother, Russell Streeter, says:

"I need not tell you Mr. Rich stood at one extreme of Universalism and Z. Laythe at the other; the one claiming to be the original promulgator of the leading points of the Treatise on Atonement, and the other a strict follower of Winchester,

[2] Whoever would learn more of these matters may consult Murray's Works, Vol. ii., pp. 238, 263, 277 (Winchester), 303, 308, (to C. Rich), 319 (of H. Ballou), 325 327, 369, 412. In those Letters may be learned the principles and feelings of Mr. M. towards Universalism as now generally accepted.

fire and brimstone, lake and all. This I had from Father Laythe's own lips. On the contrary, Father Rich, in the only conversation I ever had with him (1816), was the first preacher who openly contended that all the (evil) consequences of sin were confined to the present life. He was very earnest on this point: he argued it on the ground of the Treatise, as it appeared for more than a quarter of a century, viz., that man was first *created* in Christ Jesus, and then *formed* of the dust, and that as he stood related to the earth of Adam only he sinned. Hence sin, as we call it, to use his own words, 'originated solely in the flesh and blood, and ended with the same. The spirit being of heavenly origin remained pure, though blended with carnal bodies: as pure metals were the same before being separated from the earth or dross, as afterwards; as wheat was the same before being separated from the chaff,' &c. Those passages of Scripture which speak of 'burning as an oven,' 'unquenchable fire,' 'coming in flaming fire,' &c., were made to mean the fire of God's love, the same as in all the early editions of the Treatise, all of which were treated more literally in the revision and alteration of the work after 1850, I think."

We may hence see very clearly what influence the researches and opinions of Mr. Rich had upon our denomination in its early stages, whether his opinions be now considered orthodox or not; but a stronger proof may be seen by those who will turn their eyes to the rough "Hill Country," where Mr. Rich bestowed most of his labors, and carefully note the diffusion of light and the march of truth from that central spot. Let them count up the hosts of those who have gone thence as the direct or latent fruit of his labors, heralds of the everlasting Gospel, diffusing the knowledge and joy of the great salvation, and none will doubt the claim we put forth for the subject of this notice, nor be unwilling to give him the place and honor he so truly deserves. In addition to those already named, add Farwell, Barnes, the Ballous, the Streeters, the Skinners, Babbit, Bigelow, Young, Hilliard, Coffin, Flagg, Stacy, Loveland, Bartlett, Willis, Williamson, Sawyer, and many others, who have done good and faithful work for God, truth and humanity; and many others, such as Foster, Fessenden and Sprague, who

embraced in part the opinions of Mr. Rich, and modified their preaching, although they retained their places among the Congregationalists. In a word, find among our early or later preachers, those who have *not* been influenced directly or indirectly more by the opinions and labors of Mr. Rich than by those of Murray and Winchester, and then decide whether *his* memory, as well as theirs, should not be sacredly embalmed in the grateful hearts of all who have hope in the salvation of the world; and whether he may not be truly reckoned as *earliest* and *chiefest* among the preachers of Universalism in this country.

Mr. Rich was a man of good common sense and sterling native talents. His mind was vigorous and logical, free and benevolent; his morals were unimpeachable. He was always cheerful and happy, though of a serious and reflective turn. His chief desire seemed to be to render all about him happy in the knowlege of the truth and practice of virtue. He was retiring in his manners, humble and unpretending, always avoiding dissensions when it could be done without a sacrifice of truth and duty; never seeking a war of words for the sake of a victory.

His opportunities for an education were very limited, hence he never rose high as a speaker or writer. In fact, he never had much confidence in himself as a preacher, but always thought and spoke disparagingly of his labors. He used to call himself "the poor instrument of the Lord Jesus." When asked to preach, he would generally reply that he was "not a preacher — not worthy to proclaim God's great truth." Frequently, in his sermons, while dwelling on the fulness of divine love, and exhibiting the great and glorious truth of the world's salvation, his language would be most brilliant and pathetic; when, suddenly reminded of himself, he would break down from his bold and beautiful descriptions, which were stirring all hearts, and apologize for his weakness and unfitness to treat of subjects so grand and sublime. This modesty, if it injured the style of his discourses, won for him the sympathy and confidence of his hearers. None ever doubted his sincerity. His enemies thought him deluded.

We may here account for the fact that he never became famous as a preacher. He would never consent to be put forward on public occasions. He would never preach in large towns; he preferred, like the Baptist, to labor in the "wilderness country." He often said he "would never undertake to teach those who knew more than he did; he preferred to be a learner." His whole confidence was in his Lord and in the truth of the doctrine he espoused. He preferred obscurity, and bore with meekness and fortitude the severe trials and obloquy cast on him. He never ventured before the world with written complaints nor in self-defence; neither did he attempt by secret devices and private insinuations to prejudice the minds of friends or foes to make himself famous.

With such a spirit and such a character, if he did not slay the enemy and the false accuser with the arm of Goliath, he did not assume the crown of Saul, but preferred to do his work meekly and wait his reward. It is more to possess a country than it is to conquer it. A Christian is more than conqueror — he is the inheritor, through the Christian spirit. He sought the destruction of error and sin by establishing truth and righteousness, which he attempted by mild and persuasive means. The sunshine descends not with torrid heat, nor the rain in torrents, to melt the snows, and nurse and cheer the tender plants, but with a mildness and a measure suited to their conditions. The fervid heat of summer would wither the herbs of early spring, and scatter an arid desolation over the fairest face of nature.

It was well, doubtless, that Mr. Rich should be just such a man as he was — a man for his time. He acted his part honestly and well, and heaven rewarded him. The faculties of his mind remained unimpaired to the last moment of his life. He was calm, cheerful and resigned under the bright assurance of a better life for himself, his loved ones, and all his fellow mortals, in the great hereafter; and full of this hope, he breathed back his spirit from the tabernacle of clay into the hands of him who gave it, and left the consequences of his labors to posterity and the world.

Article VI.

Mediævalism and Nature.

The love of Nature is a sentiment so thoroughly interwoven into our modern thought, that, at first view, it seems a necessary part of all intellectual development. We find it difficult to believe that some of the highest forms of ancient culture should have been entirely devoid of this feeling. We learn with surprise that the Greek, for instance, living in a land of unrivalled beauty, gifted with a poetic and artistic power that has excited the admiration of mankind, was yet an utter stranger to that love of Nature which to us seems to lie at the foundation of all poetry and art. Nor is this fact simply a cucurious or surprising one. It is suggestive of some of the fundamental lessons connected with the history of civilization. And when the true philosophy of history is written, it will contain no more instructive chapter than that which will account for the singular lack of this sentiment in the thought of Greece or Rome, will detail its rise and spread amid the obscurity of the Middle Ages, and reveal its subsequent influence in the formation of the intellectual life of modern times. We are not so vain as to expect to perform this work in the compass of the few pages here allotted us. We design only to offer a few brief suggestions upon a theme which seems to us of the utmost importance, and one which has been too long overlooked by the student of civilization.

First of all, we must clearly understand what is meant by the love of nature, for the lack of precision here has already been the cause of no inconsiderable confusion. The poetic sentiment must be carefully distinguished from the sense of merely physical enjoyment which the pleasures of nature afford to all. Contact with the external world must at times be a source of delight to every man, whether savage or civilized. The peaceful quiet of a mid-summer's eve, the cool shade of the forest, the bracing breezes of the ocean, the song of birds,

the music of running waters, these afford an enjoyment to which no one can well be entirely insensible. Especially must the sensitive Greek have vivdily felt this sensuous delight, dwelling as he did in a land steeped in the most delicious sunlight and prodigal of the most varied beauties. But all this is something very different from that subtle sympathy with Nature and her ways, that humble recognition of her mysteries, and reverence even for her lowliest works, which is so deeply infused into the spirit of our modern thought. The merely physical enjoyment is sterile — it is destructive of thought, rather than creative. It is content with the passing moment, and never seeks to perpetuate itself in the forms of poetry and art. Nature, therefore, when it exerts only this sensuous influence upon a people, can never become the theme or the inspiration of any great intellectual labor. At the very best, it can only furnish the back-ground of the picture. Always some human or divine personality stands as the centre and chief object of interest.

This distinction seems so simple as to hardly demand our notice, and yet it has been sometimes strangely overlooked. Prof. Felton, for instance, in his lectures upon Greece, has sturdily insisted that the Hellenic genius was not devoid of a true love of Nature, and has presented a long array of quotations in defence of his opinion ; but his proofs are not relevant to the issue. The passing allusion of a poet to some beauty of natural scenery, attests nothing to the purpose. " The Greek poet," as Schiller has well said, " is certainly in the highest degree correct, faithful and circumstantial in his descriptions of Nature, but his heart has no more share in his words than if he were treating of a garment, a shield, or a suit of armor." His description is merely incidental. The varied scenes of human life, the fitful play of passion, the deeds of heroes and gods, are the central themes of his thought. The poet of modern times is entranced by the charms of solitude. Amid the depths of the forest as by the side of the ocean, he draws from the silent companionship of Nature the purest inspirations of his art. But the classical poet was a student of men, rather

than a lover of Nature. To him, solitude was inexpressibly mournful, the sad asylum of the discontented and the unhappy. In his thought, the still scenes of the forest grew poetic only as they were associated with the story of some nymph or goddess. He never dreamed that in the deepest solitudes of Nature, unrelieved by a single human figure, and consecrated by no heroic legend or sacred myth, there were yet to be found richer mines of poesy than amid the crowds of the market-place or the carnage of the battle-field.

The same characteristic of the Hellenic genius is evinced in its works of art. The most renowned triumphs of ancient art were achieved in the domain of sculpture which is necessarily limited to the delineations of human life and passion. Of landscape painting, as a distinct branch of artistic composition, classical antiquity has transmitted to us hardly a trace. The few pictures of natural scenery which were made, seem rather to have resembled maps and bird's eye views, than the creations of true artists, inspired by the picturesque beauties of the inanimate world. In the painting, as well as in the poetry of antiquity, Nature affords only the back-ground of the picture; it is the historical and the human which occupy the foreground and engross the attention of all.

In severe studies the same defect is still more plainly manifested. The Greek accomplished almost nothing for natural science. Keen, inquisitive, indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge, he yet failed in almost every attempt to investigate the secrets of Nature. The most valuable contributions that the Grecian intellect ever made to science, were effected amid that marked decline of the Hellenic spirit and modes of thought which characterized the schools of Alexandria. But of these matters we shall have more to say hereafter. At present, we only note the utter lack of any true devotion to the study of Nature among the ancient investigators. Even Aristotle, when he is anything more than the mere register of phenomena, is only an inquisitive seeker after wonders, a guesser of riddles, who exhausts his energies in a hap-hazard endeavor to explain some of the seeming contradictions which confront

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The endeavor to trace the further development of this sentiment is rendered somewhat difficult by the scarcity of literary records. The earlier Middle Ages were necessarily without a literature. It was a period of universal fermentation, amid which the elements of a new social order were slowly being generated. A thousand conflicting interests were struggling to find their proper place in the new régime that was to be established. Everywhere was the inevitable chaos which precedes creation. To such an age literature is always alien. A social system must first become fixed in permanent form before it can find artistic expression. The intellectual products of the early Middle Ages, therefore, witness for the most part only to the chaotic state of affairs. Literary labor was almost entirely confined to endless commentary upon the ancient master-pieces of thought, and the few works of art were only servile imitations of classical models.

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lofty conception of manhood. Sovereignty was vested in the mass of men, ruling by virtue of human rights and dignity. And even when the system had declined into despotism, the claims of the usurper rested either upon his personal valor or ancestral pre-eminence; but feudal sovereignty, by a surprising change, *was vested in the ownership of the land.* The source of dignity and authority is no longer in man, but in the free, wild Nature around him, while the human being becomes a mere appendage of the soil. Certainly, there is no more suggestive fact in history than this heretofore unnoticed one. How sweeping must have been the revolution of thought that so degraded man, who once had been the centre of all interest, the solitary theme for the pen of the poet or the pencil of the artist; that upon the other hand, elevated Nature into so high a place, clothed her with so mysterious a power, that the possession of the merest bit of land changed the rank of a human being from that of slave to sovereign!

But the feudal system is merely the first, not the only indication of the prevailing current of thought. The same tendency towards the elevation of Nature was displayed in literature and art, as soon as the mediæval spirit had broken the enforced silence of its earlier years. The popular poetry of the 12th and 13th centuries, for instance, affords many traces of the keenest susceptibility to the charms of Nature; but it is in architecture, the true poetry of the Middle Ages, that the newly-awakened sentiment displays itself most vividly. The Greek temple was a pure creation of the human intellect; its beauty consisted in perfect geometrical proportions, combined with the utmost delicacy and grace in every part. Mediæval architecture, upon the other hand, is not so much a creation from within as an echo from without. The Christian cathedral is man's response to the mysterious suggestions of Nature. As we pause amid its vaulted aisles, and peer into its darkened ways and gloomy recesses, we seem to be standing beneath the leafy arches of some primeval forest, amid whose cavernous depths we vainly seek to explore the ever-receding secrets of the universe. The reverence for Nature has

never found a nobler shrine than one of these marvellous creations of mediæval architecture. And if the Middle Ages had left behind them no other monument, we should be in no doubt as to the spirit and tendency of their thought.

We pass on to later periods, and this tendency comes still more plainly into view. The voice of Dante is heard; and amid the mysticism and melancholy which overshadow the creations of the inspired poet of Mediævalism, we find tokens of the tenderest regard for nature, and of heartfelt veneration for her works. Later still, the grand era of painting opens. In the works of a Van Dyck or a Titian, we behold the revelations of a different world from that out of which Hellenic art had drawn its inspiration. Human life is no longer the only theme which engrosses the attention of the artist. The landscape becomes an important and integral part of the picture. The beauties of natural scenery are delineated with a freedom and a power which can come only from the closest companionship with Nature.

And so upon every side we witness the signs of the great revolution which has been going on for so many centuries. Nor was it a change affecting merely the literary and artistic development of the times; it had entered into the life and thought of the common people. At the close of the Middle Ages, and the culmination of the Catholic system, the love of Nature had penetrated so deeply into the popular life, that we find even the unlettered seamen and mere adventurers, who went forth upon that wonderful career of discovery which signalized that age, displaying amid their superstitions and their ignorance a susceptibility to the charms of the external world and a poetic reverence for her mysteries which are utterly unknown to the pages of a Herodotus or an Aristotle. And when we read the recitals of Columbus, for instance, glowing in every page with the most reverent admiration of the beauties which were displayed along the pathway of his explorations, we comprehend that it was the fostering of this feeling for Nature amid the darkness of the Middle Ages which forms the

true prelude to that grand era of geographical discovery from which our modern civilization dates its origin.

The first and least difficult part of our task is done. We have described that remarkable revolution in the intellectual life of Europe as it announces itself in the political system, the poetry, the painting, the architecture, and even the popular thought of the Middle Ages. We wish now to describe the cause of so great a change. What secret energy evoked this subtle and profound sentiment for Nature, out of the depths of mediæval ignorance and darkness. The inquiry leads us at once into an entirely new and untried field: the question we have propounded, no one within the extent of our knowledge, at least, has ever attempted to answer.

The first step towards the solution of the problem consists in the recognition of the essential difference between the two great types of ancient civilization. The one type prevailed in the East, the other in the West. In their origin, their character and their results, the two stand diametrically opposed to each other. The one is the product of what may be called the objective tendency, which turns contemptuously from the life within and gazes reverently upon the life without; the other is the fruit of a subjective impulse which turns the soul inward upon itself, in rapt contemplation of its own powers and activity. From these divergent tendencies have come two different civilizations, radically opposed to each other in every essential characteristic.

The germ of Orientalism, or the civilization of the East, is the depreciation of human nature. This is the one subtle thought which underlies the entire system and gives form and color to its every part. It has given birth to a theology which divests the divine Nature of every human or personal attribute, making it a mere abstraction, steeped in eternal slumber, and utterly indifferent to all mortal affairs; a religion which consists in sacrifice, and is utterly divorced from morality; a supernaturalism so intense that it seeks to destroy all interest in the present life, and fills the mind with the wildest and most superstitious dreams concerning the future; a mental

state which casts contempt upon the human reason and looks upon faith as the sole source of knowledge; a literature whose works either claim to be themselves inspired or else are restricted to a servile commentary upon the supposed inspirations of former ages; a social system which crushes out all individuality, knows no law save that derived from revelation, is utterly regardless of human rights, and everywhere enforces the most rigid and relentless despotism. These are the essential characteristics of Oriental civilization, and they are readily recognized as the natural offspring of the tendency which despises the human, and reverences only the life without.

Hellenism, upon the other hand, represents the opposite tendency of thought. Its aim is to glorify the nature of man. In pursuance thereof, it framed a theology so thoroughly anthropomorphic that the gods are clothed even with the frailties and limitations of human nature, It made religion a secondary interest of life, while it inculcated the profoundest respect for the intuitions of morality. In its reverence for reason it lost all feeling of faith. It presents the strange picture of a religion without a revelation, and became at last the victim of a rationalism which ended in almost universal doubt and despair. In its proud, self-conscious enjoyment of the present life of man, it stood far removed from that constant engrossment with the affairs of the future which paralyzed the Orient, and came at last to look upon every thought of the hereafter with the utmost dread and suspicion. It created a literature and an art whose chief mission it was to embody the human ideal in forms of matchless beauty. It framed a social system which rests upon the idea of freedom, makes the popular voice supreme, and everywhere preserves the profoundest faith in human rights and dignity. In one word, there is no essential feature of the Hellenic system which does not trace its origin to the spirit which idealizes and reverences the human.

We understand now why the love of Nature should have profoundly characterized Oriental thought, while it was almost unknown to the Greek. Such a sentiment was the necessary

product of the tendency which despises the human and idealizes the world without. On the other hand, it was entirely alien to a spirit like that of Greece, which, absorbed in the contemplation of the human, perceives in Nature only a vast chaos of fleeting and conflicting phenomena. This account of the origin of the sentiment is remarkably confirmed by certain exceptions to the general rule and tendency of Grecian thought. Plato, for instance, stands far removed from the ordinary spirit of Hellenic life. He appears as the mighty prophet of Orientalism, speaking with the idea and graceful eloquence of the Greek. By a philosophy idealistic and Oriental in its tendencies, by a system of morality founded upon the idea of self-abnegation and the very reverse of the old Hellenic theory of development; by a theology utterly subversive of the national anthropomorphism; by a civil polity repressive of all individuality, and everywhere marked by the spirit of absolutism, he sought to check the tendencies of the popular life, then rapidly rushing to their fast and fatal exteme. And this Plato, the apostle of Oriental thought among a Western people, stands in that age almost alone in his manifestation of a vivid and reverent sympathy for Nature. And what is still more notable, his cotemporaries comment upon this peculiarity of the great philosopher in a manner which shows how little they understood or appreciated a tendency so contrary to the prevailing current of thought.[2]

The love of Nature, then, is essentially a creation of the Oriental spirit. Consider now the character of the revolution which mediæval Christianity wrought in the life of Europe. The genius of Catholicism is essentially Oriental. It essayed to overcome the tendency which had been carried to such ruinous extremes in the civilization of Greece and Rome, and which was equally potent, though less fully developed, in the life of the conquering Northerner. Its mission was to regenerate the western world by the implanting of a new spirit directly opposite to the one which had so long prevailed. In one

[2] This account is given by Plutarch. His words are quoted, if we mistake not, in Bekker's Charicles, but we have here no opportunity of verifying them.

word, it sought to *Orientalize the West.* Its cardinal purpose was to depreciate the human, to engender, in the place of the proud self-consciousness of antiquity, a feeling of reverence, of humility and submission. Its morality consisted in sacrifice; its ideal life involved the entire subversion of human nature. Casting utter contempt upon the present life and its enjoyments, it destroyed the old Greek dread of death; in the place thereof, the thought of its worshippers was constantly engrossed with the affairs of the future, and their minds filled with a mass of superstitions concerning the hereafter, which rivals the wildest phases of Orientalism. The theology of mediæval Christianity was born of the same impulse. The Catholic faith rests upon the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, ideas so essentially characteristic of the Oriental type of thought, that superficial observers have supposed them to be directly borrowed from the East. The same spirit was exhibited in its steadfast rejection of all Arian, Pelagian, or other theological conceptions which betray any leaning toward the old Hellenic modes of thought. And so in the mystical tendencies of mediæval thought, in the everywhere acknowledged supremacy of faith over reason, in the boundless credulity of the people, in the almost exclusively commentatorial character of mediæval literature, in the utter lack of the spirit of criticism, in the loss of that feeling of patriotism which so nobly distinguished antiquity, in the fading away of the military virtues before the new law of obedience and resignation, in the steady growth of despotism, and the subordination of the civil to the ecclesiastical authority, we read the unmistakable tokens of the very spirit which had produced the civilization of the East. Every part of the Catholic system exhibits this Orientalizing process, reveals European civilization moving around from one pole of thought and life to another.

This law of transformation seems to us to contain the germ of a true philosoply of history. By it, we believe the entire development of modern civilization may be clearly explained; but such a work is, of course, too vast to be entered upon in the narrow limits here allowed us. We now apply the law

only to the special subject under consideration. Thereby, the rise of the poetic feeling for Nature during the Middle Ages is seen to be no mere accident of human growth. On the other hand, it was a necessary product of mediæval civilization. It stands a notable sign of the mighty revolution effected in European life by the influence of Catholic Christianity.

One other, and the most important part of our task, remains to be accomplished. The rise of the sentiment for Nature has been productive of the grandest results in the history of human progress. Chief among them we conceive to be the formation modern science. It has accomplished this not merely, as might be superficially supposed, by furnishing an incitement or impulse to physical study. More than that, it has incorporated into European life the very basis of ideas upon which every true scientific induction must rest. Through the lack of that underlying element, the Greek failed so signally in his attempts at the formation of science. By its possession modern thought has succeeded, and the crowning triumph of Christian civilization has been obtained.

But this theme — the genesis of science — we leave for future pages of the *Quarterly*.

ARTICLE VII.

The Doctrine of Annihilation.

The Nature and Duration of Future Punishment. By Henry Constable, A. B., Prebendary of Cork. Reprinted from the second London Edition. With an Introduction by Prof. C. L. Ives of Yale College. New Haven: Charles C. Chatfield. pp. 67.

WE have had frequent occasion to notice how strongly the religious element is intensifying its hostility to the doctrine of endless punishment in England. It must at the same time be remembered that this reaction from the terrible creeds of the dominant churches is not always in the direction of Universal-

ism. That it will come to that, eventually, we have no doubt; but at present the current of thought seems to flow in the channel of the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked.

We shall sometimes take up and consider this theory at length. In this article we propose nothing more (enough, it may be considered), than to cut the tap-root of this flourishing tree of heresy, as set forth in the pamphlet whose title is given above. We shall restrict ourselves to a very few items of commentary.

1. The author and his endorser take the ground that immortality is not an inherent, constitutional quality of human nature, but a property acquired by faith in Christ. Accordingly, they endeavor to prove (but mostly assume), that eternal life and immortal life are synonymous or equivalent phrases. "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life, while the wrath of God abideth on him who believeth not. . . The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. . . As sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

These are but samples of the numerous passages of the New Testament in which eternal or everlasting life is mentioned as the result, effect or consequence of faith in Christ. It does not anywhere occur in the Old Testament, excepting once in Daniel xii., where it manifestly relates to the times of the Messiah. And when Christ says, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life," he refers to the records of the olden time, which find their application and interpretation in this: "And they are they which testify of me." So Paul said to Timothy: "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, *through faith in the Lord Jesus.*"

It is needless to multiply quotations. There is scarcely a chapter in the New Testament in which the phrase eternal or everlasting life is not used, and in every case it is either directly or by imputation, spoken of or alluded to as the result of faith in God, as revealed in or through our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is to be observed and remembered, that it is not simply *faith in God*, nor is it faith in Nature, nor faith in Moses, nor upright living, nor sincere worship, such as may be affirmed of multitudes of pagans, and the like, but *faith in Christ*. We hold to that, strictly, and without qualification, and shall hold all Annihilationists to that as a postulate affirmed and confirmed in and by multitudes of scriptural testimonies, with not a single line to the contrary.

At this point what shall be done with the argument? Shall we push it to its logical results? Will the defender of the doctrine of an immortality acquired by or through faith in Christ, stand by his premises and accept the conclusions which inevitably follow? Let us see: 1st. *All Jews* must be swept by the board, for they religiously hold, as all their fathers have held, that Christ was an impostor. 2d. *All the Heathen* must be swept by the board, whether they ever heard of Christ or not, so they have not believed in him. 3d. *All Infants and little children* must be swept by the board, because, whatever the hindrances or apologies may be, they have not believed in Christ, and that is the only condition on which eternal life can be had.

We say to the advocates of this dogma — You cannot get over, nor under, nor around the argument; for you are only denying and abandoning your premises, if you say that infants and little children are mysteriously provided for in some other way, or that consideration will be had by the great Judge in behalf of sincere Jews or worshipping heathen. The two facts stand like huge pillars, sustaining the ponderous gates of immortal life — namely, that eternal life is never, anywhere, promised or pledged to any others than believers in Christ; and that none of those named are in any way, or in any sense, believers in him.[1]

[1] On page 49 the author says: "We do not affirm or believe of the heathen that *all* are lost; but we do know from Scripture that, *as a rule*, their future is without hope." Yes, but this is precisely the thing you *should* "affirm and believe," according to your theory; for certainly the heathen have not faith in Christ, which is the sole condition on which they can obtain eternal life, as clearly shown by the writer of the above.—*Editor.*

Nor will it answer to talk about the good, the righteous, &c., and assume that provision has been made for these classes. We challenge the citation of a single passage, in which the phrase in question occurs, that pledges or promises it to any one on the score of anything but faith in Christ; and we are unwilling to accommodate the annihilationist with an assertion which utterly explodes his theory by compelling him to deny the illustrated postulate.

How, then, shall we interpret the seeming conflict of revelation and reason? Simply thus: Eternal or everlasting life is one thing; immortal life is another. The former is strictly the result or spiritual effect or consequence of faith in God as revealed in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherever, or whenever, or by whomsoever enjoyed, here or hereafter; and the latter is solely an affirmation of continuous being.

Thus, when Paul speaks of the Eternal, Immortal and Invisible God, he mentions these distinct qualities as attributes of the Supreme Being. He is continuous, undying, invisible, and so Christ was made a Priest after the power of an indissoluble life. Whoso believes in the revelations of God in Nature, feels within himself the recompense of this reverential frame of mind. If he shall advance a step farther, and find at least the elements of progress in the communications of God in Moses, he will rise to a higher plane of enjoyment. But not until he stands face to face with the interpretations of God in Christ, can he have or enjoy the highest ideals of a religious life. With the latter, only, has the eternal life anything to do.

2. The pamphlet before us, though written with much learning and thought, is a very blind exposition of the subject of which it professes to treat, whereof we may find an example in this: quoting the passage from Jude, respecting the Sodomites as suffering the vengeance of eternal fire, he says: "This passage serves two purposes. First, it establishes our theory, for it represents the punishment of Sodom as an exact pattern of future punishment. Secondly, it is our guide to the interpretation of the passages in Revelations."

Will the writer stand up in the presence of his theory, and lift his hand to heaven in endorsement of the notion that all infants and little children in Sodom, together with men of every grade of character, suffered the vengeance of eternal fire on earth *as an exact pattern* of future punishment? And will he accept Lot and his daughters in the cave in Zoar as an exact pattern of the eternal life reserved for believers in Christ in the kingdom of heaven?

Doubtless the doom of the cities of the plain may serve to interpret the passages in Revelations respecting the smoke of torment and its accompaniment; but a just exposition of the temporal judgment in both cases would lead us to consider them as national judgments, merely, having no application to cases of individual personal retribution. It is impossible, without outrage of reason, to consider the terrible overthrow of cities and nations as an illustration (much less an exact pattern) of future punishment, because all, of every age, and including beasts, must necessarily be involved in every such calamity.

Another item in this well-written, but shallow pamphlet, is worth considering. The writer says: "Its uniform testimony (that of the New Testament) is that eternal life hereafter will be the exclusive possession of the just, and that the wicked will certainly not obtain it." What right has he to abandon and ignore every passage of his theory? What evidence has he that eternal life is promised or assured to any *just* man? What right has he to settle the controversy on the platform of the righteous and the wicked? There is not one syllable of the Gospel in proof of any such assumption. It is not on the merit of righteousness, but on the merit of faith in God as revealed in and through Christ, that any soul attains the blessing of *eternal* life; and he who, building on this undeniable position, swings round the circle so as to include *righteous* people of every nation with the family of believers, is in a fair way to feel the necessity of adopting the sublime theory of Universalism.

There is one other point in this essay upon which we would

fain waste a few sentences. *Waste* is the word, for it would seem that he who can adopt the speculations of our author, is beyond the reach of a charitable verdict in behalf of the Almighty. We refer to the inferences flowing from the following language of the writer: "We affirm for the sinner a resurrection, a judgment, a sentence to the realm of hell, where he will suffer the due reward for his deeds ere he passes under the sad sentence of eternal death. Are there no terrors here?"

Terrors? Yes, and we marvel how the author could bring himself to ascribe such doings to the Father of all, and not himself be terrified into cancelling the blasphemous thought. Why should not the sleepers, having an element or warrant of immortality, be allowed to sleep on? Why awaken them from the dreamless sleep to endure a wretched, useless, and therefore wicked judgment at the hand of the Judge of all the earth, to be supplemented by the sad sentence of eternal death? Would it not be a more honorable ending of a broken, defeated purpose, to pass over the doomed ones with a silent trump! Yet, to remove the scruples of men who have long held to an eternity of misery as the punishment of sin, there is a resort to this after-death exhibition of wrath, this temporary resurrection, this miraculous interposition to fill up the measure of vengeance commenced in the flesh! Surely, a God who has it in his power consistently to do all this, would not find it consistently impossible to transform the wicked into the likeness of his dear Son, and thus open the dominion of worship to the whole family of man.

GENERAL REVIEW.

When was it Revealed?

In a work on the "Origin and History of the Doctrine of Endless Punishment," we have made the following statement in substance: "If the doctrine be true, and all mankind have been exposed to it from the beginning, then assuredly God ought to, and would, have announced it on the very morning of creation, in the most positive and unmistakable language, as a warning to Adam and all future generations. And if it was not so announced, no man who reverences the character of God ought to ask for a more overwhelming proof that it is not true."

To this argument Mr. Dexter in his "Verdict of Reason" has made the following reply, with a view to showing "the essential futility of the principle on which the objection rests:"

"If it be a fact that poison is deadly to human life, and all children from the beginning were hourly exposed to death by poison, then God should have announced this danger on the very morning of existence, in the most positive and unmistakable language, as a warning to every child in the world. And if it has not been so announced, no man who reverences the character of God ought to ask for a more overwhelming proof that poison is not deadly to human life."

1. As usual with his class, he wholly ignores the difference between the temporal and the eternal. If he will show that death by poison is purely and essentially evil, unmixed, irremediable, endless, we will admit the force of the reply. But in that case he has two problems to solve instead of one; for if God has ordained anything that is in its essence an absolute and endless evil, whether physical or spiritual, it is an accusation against his wisdom and goodness, which goes deeper than the difference of creeds. It strikes at the foundation on which all creeds and all religions rest — the character of God; and as a believer in the infinite perfection of God, Mr. Dexter is bound to meet

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than death in any other form, then the reply fails on this point, and the original argument remains in all its strength.

2. Mr. Dexter attempts to escape the logic of this conclusion by talking of "the infancy of nations," by telling us that "the children of Israel were at first incapable of understanding abstract and advanced truth" (i. e., future punishment); and finally says that the doctrine *was* revealed "to the extent to which the immature Hebrew mind was able to receive it;" and that this, "under the circumstances, was fair and sufficient." But he seems to forget the admission he has just made on the preceding page; that in the rewards and penalties of the Mosaic Law, "*nothing was either affirmed or denied respecting the future world;*" and also on the following page, that "*a long time* passed before future rewards and punishments were at all urged upon the Hebrews as motives of action."

What kind of a "fair and sufficient revelation" of *endless* punishment is that which does not affirm, or deny, *anything* in reference to the future world! It requires a great stretch of charity to apply the word "Reason" to such a strange compound of inconsistencies and contradictions.

3. But our author says, in farther reply, that if God had miraculously enlightened the "immature Hebrew mind," so as to have "heightened the distinctness and force of the revelation," and then made the doctrine plain and intelligible, "it is not clear that it would have added to the safety of the receiver, while it would clearly have added to the guilt of its rejectors."

This is a strange argument! Is Mr. Dexter so short-sighted that he does not see that if it applies to the immature Hebrew mind, it applies with equal force to the immature heathen mind? Why, then, does he send missionaries to the heathen? If distinctness of revelation adds nothing to the safety of the believer, while it does add to the guilt and condemnation of the rejector of the doctrine, he is only making a matter, confessedly bad enough for the heathen already, still worse.

Besides, the principle involved is applicable to all time. Why, then, did not God suffer the dimness and obscurity of the Old Testament to continue to the end of time, instead of giving, as he affirms, a distinct and positive revelation of the doctrine through Christ? Why should God do a thing which, according to this reasoning, it is not certain will add to the safety of the believer, while it *is* certain that it will add to the deep damnation of the unbeliever? Truly, it would

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seem as if a man must be hard pressed in defence of his creed when obliged to resort to such suicidal reasoning.

4. As if pressed by the difficulties of his position he makes still farther concession in the following: "Responsibility and guilt are always directly and exactly proportionate to the degree of light in possession; as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law, so that God will be clear when he judges."

This is substantially the doctrine of degrees of future rewards and punishments. But associating this with his other doctrines, will Mr. Dexter tell us what will be the exact difference between the condition of the least saint in heaven and that of the least sinner in hell? And, on this theory, will not the lower edge of heaven touch the upper edge of hell? And in that case, what becomes of the great gulf, concerning which we hear so much?

5. But there is another point to be considered here. Throughout his argument he *assumes* that all mankind from Adam down were exposed to endless punishment; while at the same time he admits that "a long time passed" before the doctrine was urged upon the Hebrews; nay, that during this long time, some three thousand years, at least, "*nothing was either affirmed or denied in reference to the future world*," because the immature Hebrew mind was unable to comprehend this "abstract and advanced truth."

How then does he know that during this "long time" mankind were exposed to endless punishment, since by his own showing nothing was affirmed on the subject by God, who is the only authority in the case? How does he know anything about the matter? If God does not affirm it, what right has he to affirm it? If the Bible is silent in regard to it, what reliable information has he, outside of the Bible, which authorizes him to speak so confidently?

6. But there is yet another point deserving attention: Why were mankind exposed by their Heavenly Father to a danger so unspeakably dreadful, at a period when, as Mr. Dexter says, "the immature mind" was unable to comprehend its nature and extent, and therefore incapable of being influenced by it? God was free to act as he chose in the matter. He was not obliged to affix such a penalty to his law; he was not compelled to expose his infant children to such a horrible doom.

Even human laws make a distinction between children and adults; between those who can and those who cannot comprehend the nature of law and penalty; and distinguishes in favor of those too young to

understand their own responsibility to law. But according to the theory in review, God inflicts the penalty of endless woe on those who are mere infants in capacity; and who, Mr. Dexter says, are incapable of understanding the "advanced and abstract truth" implied in the penalty. Here is a monstrous injustice charged upon the divine government, and an accusation of unprovoked cruelty against the heavenly Father, from which every earthly father would shrink with undisguised horror. Let us illustrate this point:

Suppose Mr. Dexter should place his child, of two or three years, on the brink of a fearful precipice, at the foot of which rolled a sea of flaming fire — and that after playing round for a time, unable to realize the terribleness of the peril in which he was placed, the child totters forward, loses his balance, and plunges headlong into the fiery gulf below!

The whole community is aroused by the dire catastrophe, and in the wildest excitement crowd around our friend, asking an explanation of his strange conduct. He excuses himself by saying that he warned the child of his danger in vague terms, which embodied "a dark, mysterious, shadowy menace," of the danger to which he was exposed.[1] But his friends ask again, with increasing amazement, Why did you speak in such dark and mysterious language? Why did you not tell him in the plainest terms possible of the fearful danger which lay in wait for him? Because, says Mr. Dexter, my child was too young to understand the truth in the matter; his mind was too immature to grasp the real character of the danger. Why then did you leave your babe upon the precipice at all? What motive had you for placing him in such awful peril? What compulsion, what necessity could induce you to do so cruel and wicked a deed? and what possible justification can you offer for an act which excites such universal horror? But if you were determined to expose him to this terrible death, why did you not wait until he was old enough to comprehend and avoid the terrible fate to which you have thus, by your own act, foredoomed and driven him?

What answer could he make to these questions? How could he

[1] Mr. Dexter says of the words, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," that they are regarded "as projecting a dark, mysterious menace over into the shadowy future." *Dark! Mysterious!! Shadowy!!!* And this is all the revelation poor Adam has, all that the world has for ages, in a matter involving such tremendous interests! Who can believe it of — we will not say a merciful, but — a *just* God? And what of a creed which requires belief in such a monstrous blasphemy?

justify his conduct? *But if such cruelty would be wrong in Mr. Dexter, would it be right in God?*

The truth is, as we have often said, when Mr. Dexter and his theological brethren admit, as they are compelled to, that the doctrine of endless punishment was not revealed for the first three thousand or the first three hundred years of the Old Testament history, whatever the ground or explanation of the fact, they substantially surrender the whole question in debate. It is idle to talk about the "childhood of nations," and the "life of the race," and their gradual education in the knowledge of divine truth; for if we are educated as a race, we are doomed as *individuals;* and it is as individuals, therefore, that we are entitled to the largest instruction respecting the danger threatening us and the means of escaping it.

Charles Kingsley versus Darwin.

CHARLES KINGSLEY was recently elected president of the "Devonshire Association of Science, Literature and Art," Froude the historian retiring. In his Inaugural Address, after referring to Darwin as an illustrious man of science, though some of his hypotheses were not to be received, he proceeded to the following common-sense view of the question respecting "primeval man." We take the extract from *Appleton's Journal*, a work to which we have often called attention, as one of the best edited and most instructive of the great crowd of monthlies. We regret that want of room forbids longer quotations from Canon Kingsley's admirable address:

"The more ancient you confess the human race to be, the more time you allow for whole peoples to have risen, become great, strong, civilized; then the more time, too, for whole peoples to have fallen again and become weak, base, barbarous. Those who talk of a continual progress upward in man, forget how many facts are against them. Has Greece risen or fallen during the last two thousand years? Has the whole East risen or fallen in the last thousand years? Has Spain risen or fallen in the last two hundred years? In America alone, have not two great civilizations, that of Mexico and that of Peru, sunk into savagery again during the last three hundred years? And how many times may not the same thing have happened on the earth?

We have a right to ask, Does Science teach us that savages are the crude material of humanity? If so, she can only teach us by facts; by proceeding from the known to the unknown. But where are her

facts? Undeniably, the facts show that degradation in mankind is as easy and as common as progress. You have only to leave civilized human beings to themselves for them to become savages, and the struggle of all wise and good men is to counteract that tendency in man to fall, and not to rise.

If I am asked for the facts on my side, I answer, Facts! why, we have hardly any facts which are not on that side. Are not all the philanthropists in the world working day and night to prevent the facts spreading and breeding by natural laws, and so ruining society? Go into any of our great cities, and see what human beings become if left to themselves. Is not an average street Arab as very a savage as a Fuegian, and far more of a savage than an Esquimaux? That is the natural tendency of man by the laws of his nature — not to become a Shakspeare, still less a Moses — but to become a dirty, lying ruffian, like an average savage, and like, alas! too many English men, and women, and children.

Civilization is not of the outer but of the inner man. The old Hebrew patriarchs were, according to the records, more civilized men than an average Parisian. Homer's heroes, as they stand in the Iliad and Odyssey, a thousand years before the Christian era, with very few clothes indeed on when their armor was off, were more civilized than their so-called descendants of the Greek empire, a thousand years after the Christian era."

He is willing to accept the asserted immense antiquity of the human race, but affirms that the older man is proved to be, the more likely he is to have changed meanwhile. "As for the Esquimaux-like savages, whose implements of flint or bone are found in caves and river-gravels, they may have been the earliest human race which appeared, or re-appeared, in Europe, when it recovered from the great catastrophe of the Glacial epoch. That, it seems to me, is all that we can say of them. As for their being the original type of man, as for our being able to argue from their habits what were the habits of our remotest ancestors, that I must deny, as utterly as I deny it of any and every savage now existing."

In illustration of Kingsley's argument that man, under certain conditions, relapses into the savage, deteriorates in all respects, we give the following from Hugh Miller, who, speaking of tribes degenerating and perishing, quotes an account of great multitudes of native Irish,

"Who, in 1611–1689, were driven from Armagh and the south of Down into the mountainous tract extending from the Barony of Fleurs eastward to the sea. . . . In Sligo and northern Mayo the consequences of degeneration and hardship exhibit themselves in the whole physical condition of the people, affecting not only the features,

but the frame. Five feet two inches, on an average, pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags, these spectres of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied and comely, stalk abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparition of Irish ugliness and Irish want."—*Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 272.

Does not this scrap of history furnish a satisfactory explanation of the fact that tribes of the human family, in various portions of the earth, are found on the lowest round of the ladder of development, without supposing that the savage state is the primeval condition of man, as argued by Lubbock and others? The Irish alluded to by Miller had deteriorated not only as regards all the social advantages of a civilization to which they had once attained, but also in mental and physical respects, in features, limbs, and the whole bodily framework. If these are the results of a few years of exposure, hardship and degradation, may we not conclude that centuries of like descent would reduce them still nearer to the brutal likeness, without supposing with Darwin that all men were originally monkeys or gorillas? Other facts bearing on this question may be found in Darwin's "Journal," noticed in this number of the *Quarterly*.

Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen; or History against Dogma.

The author of the pamphlet on the "Nature and Duration of Future Punishment," briefly noticed in this number of the *Quarterly* by one of our contributors, is evidently a man of some reading and scholarship, but that he is not always a safe guide, is very certain. He makes some assertions in his zealous anxiety to defend his doctrine of Destructionism, which betray either ignorance or something worse than ignorance; neither of which seems pardonable in one who writes in such a confident, dogmatic and censorious spirit. We give below two examples of his exact and critical statements in illustration of these remarks:

1. He classes Clement of Alexandria, to whom he assigns the date of A. D. 212, among those of the early church fathers who are said to have believed that the punishment of the wicked would terminate in annihilation, or the utter destruction of being. On this point we will give Clement an opportunity of speaking for himself:

"Punishment is, in its operation, like medicine; it dissolves the hard heart, purges away the filth of uncleanness, and reduces the

swellings of pride and haughtiness; thus restoring its subject to a sound and healthful state." *Pedagog.* i. 8.

"How is Jesus a Saviour and Lord, unless he is the Lord and *Saviour of all?* He is certainly the Saviour of those who have believed; and of those who have not believed he is Lord, until by being brought to confess him, they shall receive the blessing suited and adapted to them." *Stromata* vii. 2.

"The Lord is the propitiation, not only for our sins, that is of the faithful, but also for the whole world (1 John ii. 2); therefore he truly saves all, converting some by punishments, and others by gaining their free will, so that he has the high honor that unto him every knee shall bow, angels, men and the souls of those who died before his advent." *1 Johan. adumb. in epist.*

Do these plain passages justify Mr. Constable in his impudent assertion that Clement held that "future punishment was the utter and final loss of all being and existence"![1]

But in addition to these testimonies of Clement himself, we give the following epitome of his views regarding Moral Liberty, Punishment and Redemption, drawn from a diligent reading of his works by an eminent modern scholar, who sought not to establish any pet theory by his study of Clement, but only to ascertain what he really did believe and teach on these points:

"The deep corruption of mankind fills God, (whose compassion for man is as unlimited as his hatred towards evil), not with anger, for he is never angry, but with the tenderest and most pitiful love. Hence he continually seeks all men, whom he loves for their own sake and their resemblance to God, as the bird seeks her young who have fallen from the nest. This Omnipotence, to which nothing is impossible, knows how to overcome all evil, and convert it into good.

[1] We have examined all the references to Clement's works which he gives in support of this unwarrantable assertion; and on not one of the nine pages to which he severally refers is there a line or a word sustaining his position; nor in some of the passages even an allusion to a future state. On the contrary, in two or three cases there is a distinct assertion of doctrine involving a final restoration, as on pages 86, 102, 170, 465. For example, on the last named page: "It is essential that the providence which manages all, be both supreme and good. For it is the power of both that dispenses salvation — the one correcting by punishment, as supreme; the other showing kindness in the exercise of beneficence, as a benefactor." *Ante-Nicene Library, Clement, vol. i.* See also the beautiful passages on pp. 86 and 82, the one showing that while the loving bird fails to save its young, fallen from the nest, from the devouring serpent, the Father never fails to recover his children from the serpent of sin; and the other that "the Sun of Righteousness, who drives his chariot over all, *pervades equally all humanity*, changes sunset into sunrise, and through the cross brings death to life; and having wrenched man from destruction, transplants mortality into immortality, and translates earth to heaven."

He threatens, indeed, and punishes, but yet only to reform and improve; and though [some] in public discourse assert the fruitlessness of repentance after death, yet, hereafter, not only those who have not heard of Christ will receive forgiveness, but it may be hoped that the severer punishment which befalls the obstinate unbelievers, will not be the conclusion of their history. For man, like every other spiritual being, can never lose his free will. By means of this power at all times, here and hereafter, noble minds, aided by that power which is indispensable to success, are lifting themselves up from ignorance and deep moral corruption, and are drawing men in greater or less degree to God and the Truth."[2]

And when in his chronological table he puts the first extant mention of Universal Restoration at A. D. 253, by Origen, he not only shows to what little purpose he has read Clement, but also his utter ignorance of the famous "Sybilline Oracles," which date more than one hundred years before Origen — A. D. 150 — and whose pronounced Universalism is beyond question or criticism.

2. In speaking of Origen's doctrine he has the following: "To suppose that a responsible being, capable of good and evil, may deliberately choose the latter, and deliberately continue in it, and yet that God is bound in every instance to win or force back that responsible agent to the path of life which he had forsaken, is destructive of the quality which distinguishes the higher from the lower order of creation, viz., *the freedom of their will.* God says to those whom, in making capable of knowing him he has made capable of sharing in his own immortality — 'You may and can choose evil, and with it death.' Origen says — 'You cannot and you shall not; the evil you would chose shall be severed from you, do what you will; the good you would not have shall be forced upon you, struggle against it as you may.' He reduces the creature, made to walk in the field of freedom to the creation regulated by the iron law of necessity."

A fair-minded, honest man, a man not bound to defend his creed regardless of the means employed, would not talk in this way; for nothing is more absurd than this idle babble about God's *forcing* man into salvation, (compelling him to go to heaven, as the popular phrase has it), whether he will or no. And above all, it is dishonest in the Rev. Mr. Constable, if he has studied Origen, as he would have us understand, to represent him as believing that good would be forced on men against their will! If there was one doctrine asserted by him

[2] Redepenning: Origenes, i. 133, as cited by Shedd, History of Christian Doctrine, where Redepenning's References to Clement may be seen.

more than another, it was precisely the doctrine of the entire freedom of the human will, and this in its relations to salvation. It was a point on which he was specially strong and persistent. In *Contra Celsum*, Lib. viii., he says:

"We assert that the Word, who is the Wisdom of God, shall bring together all intelligent creatures, and convert them into his own perfection, *through the instrumentality of their free will and of their own exertions.* The Word is more powerful than all the diseases of the soul, and he applies his remedies to each one according to the pleasure of God — for the name of God is to be invoked by all, so that all shall serve him *with one consent.*"

Commenting on 1 Cor. xv. in *De Principiis*, *i.* 6, concerning the subjection of all things to Christ, he says,

"What then is that subjection with which *all* things must be subdued to Christ? I think it to be that with which we ourselves desire to be subdued to him; and with which also the apostles and all the saints who have followed Christ, have been subdued to him. For the very expression *subjected to Christ*, denotes the salvation of those subjected."

Does this *desire* for subjection to Christ look as if Origen believed salvation was to be *forced* upon them in violation of their will? Indeed, as *Dr. Ballou* says, from whom we quote, "he holds that none can ever be happy or miserable but by the right or wrong use of their own free-will." And *Hagenbach* throughout his history speaks of Origen's constant assertion of man's freedom in the work of his salvation. *Dr. Shedd* also sets forth the same fact, and shows that everywhere in *De Principiis*, iii., Origen asserts and illustrates the doctrine of the liberty of the will, and argues that the apostle's declaration, that man's salvation "is not of him that willeth" but "of God that showeth mercy," means merely that the will itself as a faculty, and not the *use* of it, is of God. And this point Origen illustrates in the following felicitous comparison:

"As we derive it from God that we are men, that we breathe, that we move, so also we derive it from God that we will. But no one would infer from the fact that because our capacity to move the hand, for example, is from God, therefore the act of murder, or of theft, is from God."

Now what shall we think of Mr. Constable when in the face of these testimonies he declares in his oracular way that Origen "reduces

the creature made to walk in the field of freedom *to* a thing regulated by the iron law of necessity." And in view of facts so well known to students of dogmatic history, what confidence should his readers have in him as *authority* respecting the real belief of the church fathers on any point of doctrine?

Curious Discoveries.

THE facts which we here put on record are as suggestive as they are curious; or, in other words, they provoke the thought of the reader, and compel a thousand questions which it is not easy for the most learned scientists to answer. The time of man's appearance on the earth, his primitive condition, the vast changes in the climate of the earth, involving the question of a possible change of its poles in the ages long gone, the flood or floods, the pre-historic period, and many kindred subjects, all come into the range of inquiry, and challenge investigation alike from learned and unlearned.

We find in one of our exchanges an interesting account of a recent discovery of pre-historic remains in Germany. It seems that last winter,

"A few archæologists became aware of the great importance of the Hohefels cave in the Aachthal, Wurtemberg, long known to those who lived in the vicinity for its copious yield of bear-bones. 'This extensive and high-vaulted cavern lies at the base of a steep rock, towering 125 feet above the Aach River, near Schelklingen, and was, probably at the commencement of the glacial epochs, the dwelling-place of a hunting tribe. Of the bones contained in it, by far the largest number belong to the cave-bear, the Alpine bear and the reindeer; less numerous are the remains of the dwarf-ox and the urus, of a thick-headed horse, of the two-horned rhinoceros and its usual companion, the mammoth, of swine, foxes, polar foxes, otters, wolves, antelopes, cats; of the swan, goose, duck, heron and snipe. Bones of the hare and lion were found only in a single instance.

"The presence of man was proved by a number of animal bones split lengthwise in order to take out the marrow, and by hand-wrought implements (pierced teeth, thin lamillæ of mammoth ivory, and splinters of flint of the rudest and most primitive shape). The conclusion is warranted that the Aachthal hunters flourished at a time when our so-called polar and tropical animals lived in close contact and contemporaneously, of course under a hotter climate than the Suabian hills now have; that those men possessed no tame domesticated animals; and that the terrible cave-bear was hunted by man — a fact of which we here get the first evidence.

"In Switzerland, also, a new lacustrine station has been discovered at Heimenlachen, near Berg. Among the fragments of vases and stone hatchets unearthed was the skull of a deer, whose horns had each nineteen branches, and measured four feet across."

In addition to the above, the Toronto *Telegraph* gives a wonder-story of excavations and discoveries lately made on the farm of Daniel Fredenburg, on Grand River, in Cayuga, Canada West. About five feet below the surface, the workmen came upon a pit filled with human skeletons, some of which are said to be *nine feet* in length! And, what is curious, several of them had stone pipes still in their jaws, though it was manifest they had been killed by violence. Large shells, supposed to have been used for holding water, were also found among many other relics. What are we to think of these strange discoveries? Do they go back to "those days" when "there were giants in the land?" Have we descended from giants, instead of monkeys as Mr. Darwin would have it?

"The farm, which consists of one hundred and fifty acres, has been cultivated for nearly a century, and was covered with a thick growth of pine, so that it must have been ages ago since the remains were deposited there. The skulls of the skeletons are of an enormous size, and of all manner of shapes, about half as large again as are now to be seen. The teeth of most of them are still in an almost perfect state of preservation, though they soon fall out when exposed to the air. From the appearance of the skulls it would seem that their possessors died a violent death, as many of them were broken and dinted. The axes are shaped like tomahawks, small, but keen instruments. They are all of stone, and of all sizes and shapes. The pipes are not unlike the cutty pipe, and several of them are engraved with dogs' heads. They have not lost their virtue for smoking. Some people profess to believe that the locality was formerly an Indian burial-place; but the enormous stature of the skeletons, and the fact that pine trees of several centuries' growth covered the spot, go far to disprove this idea."

In this connection, and as an example showing the rapidity with which human bones will disappear under certain conditions, we note the following facts. Is it water that makes the difference in these cases? And if so, is it immaterial whether the water is salt or fresh?

"The Dutch government, in 1853, drained off the Haarlem Lake, on which there had been many shipwrecks and naval fights, and where thousands had found a watery grave. The canals and trenches, dug to a considerable depth through the rescued land, must have had an aggregate length of thousands of miles, and yet not a single human

bone was exhumed from first to last. Some weapons and a few coins, and one or two wrecked vessels, alone rewarded the antiquaries, who watched the operations with the hope of a rich harvest. Here, as in cavern deposits and river gravels generally, works of art alone furnished evidence of the existence of man, even though no part of the desposit could be more than three hundred years old, as the lake was formed by an inundation toward the end of the sixteenth century.

The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart.

THE portion of sacred history describing the series of events alluded to in the heading of this article has provoked a variety of comments and criticisms. But do not Scripture and history both furnish passages substantially its equivalent, and thus help us to a reasonable illustration of its meaning and intent? For example, Christ says, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

Of course there is but one interpretation to be given to this language of him who is specially named the Prince of Peace. And the law which governs the interpretation is common to all languages, eastern and western, ancient and modern, viz., that which attributes directly to man the consequences of his words or actions, however remote or indirect; even those which he never designed or thought of.

As if, for example, a believer in Universal Redemption should bring his father, or the mother her daughter, of another faith, to hear a sermon in defence of the truth. The preacher delivers his message; aud when they return home it becomes the subject of discussion, which ends in angry speech and bitter feeling and personal alienation. The father exclaims, "My son, your minister has done this; he has made this trouble, and set you at variance against your father. He is responsible for all this unhappy strife and bitter feeling."

Now it is not difficult to understand in what sense the preacher is regarded as the cause of the trouble; in what sense he is said to have set father and son at variance. He simply declared the truth of God, and it was the consequent opposition of error that made war in the household.

So Christ intends to say the same thing. The gospel he taught would create a commotion in the world. Its doctrines coming in con-

tact with error, its precepts denouncing sin and wickedness, would excite hostility and opposition; and the result would be, at first, war instead of peace, hatred instead of love — *at first;* until error shall be subdued and sin destroyed, and then the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and universal peace and love prevail.

So in the case of Pharaoh; God is represented as hardening his heart, not by any direct action or miracle, but by enforcing upon him the law of righteousness and justice in regard to the people of Israel. It was by commanding him to give them the freedom to which they were entitled, and against which he rebelled, hardened his heart, and showed himself arrogant, haughty, cruel and despotic. And this interpretation appears in the letter of the record, for while it is said that the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, it is also repeatedly said, side by side with this, that "Pharaoh hardened his own heart this time also neither would he let the people go." *Exodus viii.*

The time had come in the Providence of God for Pharaoh to release the Hebrews from their long bondage to the Egyptians, and from the remorseless despotism which sought to exterminate so large a portion of their male population. Now the way of justice, the way of mercy and right was open to Pharaoh; the Lord had pointed out to him the method by which he might deliver himself from what he had confessed was a dangerous element in his empire, but he obdurately and impiously refused to follow the divine leading. He would neither let them go nor lighten their burthens by a finger's weight. He would neither soften the murderous rigor of his slave laws, nor suffer a single step toward their social elevation or freedom. He sneered at the significant intimations of Providence, he laughed at the possibility of their deliverance from his tyranny; and treated with scorn all the prophecies of coming judgment.

And what was the result of this defiance of high Heaven; this blind and stupid refusal to be taught by the stern logic of events? Why, it ended as all like experiments before and since have ended. Pharaoh and his princes and generals and armed hosts were swept into the abyss of destruction; and the poor, despised Hebrew slaves went out free, and became the founders of a great and prosperous empire!

It was a favorite saying of the ancient heathen — "whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad" — which was only another form of expressing the truth, that whenever a man or a people run into ex-

cess of wickedness and injustice and oppression, and fling defiance against Heaven, they invite their doom — they array against themselves all the forces of the moral world, and their destruction is at hand.

Pharaoh illustrated this saying three thousand years ago, and the Southern slaveholders have illustrated it in our time. Let us look for a moment at this illustration from our own history. If ever there was a people on earth whose hearts were hardened, and who obstinately rushed on to their own ruin; if ever there was a people appointed to work out through their own madness the purposes of Heaven, it was this very Slavocracy.

God called to them again and again, and they refused to hear. He commanded them to cease from their wrong against the weak and ignorant and friendless, to be just, to break the yoke of bondage, and let the oppressed go free. He commanded it in his Word and by his Providence. He called them to it by the steady growth of the world into a higher civilization; by the sure prophecy of events; by the warning voice of history; by the diffusion of Christianity as a religion of love to God and man; by the ever widening humanities of the age; by his gift to all men of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And in so calling and commanding he hardened their hearts in the same sense in which he hardened Pharaoh's heart; in the some sense in which Christ sent a sword on earth, and made a man's foes those of his own household; in the same sense in which the preacher of truth hardens the hearts of unbelievers, and fills them with opposition, bitterness and hatred.

In other phrase, as said of Pharaoh, they hardened their own hearts, and would not let the people go. They refused to heed all these voices of God, of justice and mercy; and in their madness defiantly added to the burthens of the oppressed, and made the house of their bondage still more terrible. And what was the result? Precisely that which we saw in the case of Pharaoh. The Red Sea of destruction has swallowed them up — them and their hosts, them and their monarchy and nobility that were to be; them and their pride and ambition and oppressions — while their four millions of slaves have passed through the water floods, dry shod, to the long promised and long prayed for land of freedom, manhood and security.

Religious World.

If the apostles of *Free Religion* would more frequently speak in the tone and spirit of the paragraph which follows, we could more easily pardon some of their inane babble and impertinent assumptions of infallible wisdom. The extract is from a recent disquisition of Mr. Abbott, in his "Index." He is speaking of the hope of Immortality, and asks if it is worthy of God or Nature that human life should always end in a tragedy — "these homes of ours are frail as the shells that enclose the embryo bird; shall the great affections of the soul perish unfledged? Shall nothing at last emerge with wings?"

"When, therefore, I see a beautiful home shattered like a costly vase, whose very fragments are still fragrant with the divine perfume of the flowers it held — when the spectacle of life's drama ends with crushed and bleeding hearts, — I am impelled by the very artistic instinct within, if by no deeper stirring, to hope that this is but the ending of a scene, not the ending of the play. Life cannot be a tragedy at last, unless the actors are nobler than the Author. The final outcome of spiritual being, shall it be death? The utter pathos of these separations, wringing tears from everything but stones — can this be the closing strain in the grand oratorio of a divine devotion and a love that triumphs over all? Be it that the word "home" has become a mere memory of the past, inwrought with deathless pain and longing and outstretching after beloved arms; yet if it shifts and changes under the soothing hand of Time into a still diviner hope of the future, a cheerful vision of reunited loves and bliss made a thousand-fold more sacred by long intervals of solitary grieving, who shall venture to cry, 'Nay!' Until the vast mystery of death has been utterly unsealed, it is sciolism, not science, that steps briskly forward with negations incapable of proof."

— An ambitious project has been formed by a small knot of Rabbis in Frankfort, viz., no less than to lead the scattered children of Israel back to Palestine, and to establish a Jewish kingdom there once more. Invitations to join the project have been printed in great numbers, and are by this time circulating among the numerous members of the ancient race throughout Germany; and, if we may credit the report of newspapers friendly to Judaism, influential moneyed men in the old imperial capital — the headquarters of German Jews — have given it their substantial support.

— Encke's comet reaches its perihelion this month, coming within 32,000,000 miles of the sun, its greatest distance being 387,000,000, or

nearly four times that of the earth. This comet is principally of interest because its period of revolution has diminished to the extent of about three days in the past eighty years, a fact which is generally accepted as furnishing the best proof of the theory that the regions of space are filled by material "ether," capable of retarding the motion of the bodies composing the solar system. Of course this resisting medium would produce annual effect upon the comet of a few tons in weight that would not be experienced by our earth in the course of thousands of ages. But the result, though long deferred, is none the less inevitable, we are told — earth, planets and comets will be eventually precipitated into the sun? *Perhaps.*

— Few persons, even those well-read, know to what excess of horror infantcide, or the murder of female children, is still carried in India, provoking at last stern measures on the part of the English government for its suppression. A recent report to the Lieutenant-Governor, giving the result of "a regular village visitation" for ascertaining the proportion of boys and girls, the number of marriages, &c., furnishes the following startling facts:

"In seven villages, inhabited by one caste, there were 104 boys and only one girl, and that one girl had probably been saved by being brought up in her mother's family, altogether apart from her father. The Bahoos of Asogpoor had twenty boys, and 'no girl has ever been married from among them.' In ten villages of another caste there was not one girl; and in other ten, 'marriage of a girl is an unknown ceremony.' Nearly all the families of the Baboos and Koours practice the crime, with the exception of the Koours of Luckmunpore, who had twenty boys and twenty-one girls — a most honorable exception, where murder is the ruling social law. In one village in Oodeypore a venerable pundit said, 'I have lived near this place, man and boy, close on eighty years, and I never saw a marriage in it.' In some districts there has been a considerable improvement. The Lieutenant-Governor, in referring to the Agra district, said — "In 1840, only three female infants among the guilty clans survived their birth; in 1841 there were fourteen; in 1842 there were twenty-eight; and in 1864 there were 438, about 44 per cent. of the child population."

— The above is certainly a sad witness to the religious and social degradation of the Hindoos, and the English Government is deserving approval for its efforts to put an end to it; but is the following honorable to the Christian care and culture which it bestows on its own children at home? The record is from a Dublin journal; and aston-

ishing as it may seem, in the same paper it is stated that at a meeting of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, Lord Shaftsbury in the chair, it was resolved, *on motion of a Lord Bishop*, that "this gathering of the friends of Christian enlightenment is *profoundly rejoiced* to hear of the promised openings for *missionary effort in Vienna, Rome and Damascus?*" In view of the disgraceful revelation below, we think it would be much more to the credit of the Lord Bishop to look after the *heathen* in London, instead of the *Jews* in Vienna and Damascus:

"At the Hendon Petty Sessions, some days ago, a girl named Maria Walker was produced as a witness for a prosecution on a charge of trespass. Mr. Blount, who appeared for the defendant, begged leave to cross-examine her, and did so to the following effect: 'Have you ever heard of God?' 'Noa.' 'How old are you?' 'I don't noa.' 'Have you ever heard tell of heaven or hell!' 'Noa.' 'Where will you go when you die?' 'I don't noa.' 'When you do wrong — thieve, lie, make mischief — whom do you offend?' 'I don't noa.' 'Have you a soul?' 'I don't noa.'"

— On tearing down a portion of an old religious edifice of Willscot, in Oxfordshire, England, the workmen came upon an oratory hidden in the thickness of the walls, and covered by the panelling of the adjacent room. It contained a small library of the earliest Protestant theology, of the time of the Reformation, concealed, perhaps, during the reign of Bloody Mary, when the possession of such books would doom the owner to fire and faggot. Among other works are some of John Knox's writings, and a complete copy of the first English, or Coverdale's translation of the Bible.

— A new and valuable discovery has been made at Jerusalem, as announced by the London *Athenæum*, viz., one of the two slabs mentioned by Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, B. V. chapt. 5, as set up in the balustrade of the Holy Place, with an inscription warning strangers not to enter. The inscription on the stone brought to light by the excavations is almost in the words of Josephus: "Let no foreigner enter within the Balustrade and enclosure around the Holy Place. Whoever shall be caught doing this shall be liable to death." This stone will help to determine the cubit and other sacred measures of the temple, and to distinguish between the blocks of Herod's time and those of the earlier dates. It is thought probable that its mate may yet be found.

— The "Catholic Almanac," which is always zealous for the glory of the Church, tells us that the first suggestion of our Electric Telegraph was by Joseph Berolus, a Jesuit, and lecturer on natural philosophy at Rome, and dates back more than a century. It is found in a Latin Poem, entitled, *Josephi Mariani Parthenii Electricorum, libri* vi., *Romæ*, 1707, and is dedicated to the *Deiparæ Virgine sine macula peccati originalis conceptæ*. After showing in a note that the electric current could be conveyed through a long metallic wire, the author says: "Bury a wire under ground, and let part of it appear in the house of your friend, with a small division in it. If you discharge a jar, the fluid will proceed along the wire, and a spark will be perceived between the divided parts by your friend. Now, could not an alphabet be easily composed from these sparks?" etc.

— *Immigration Statistics.* According to Official Government Returns, the total of foreign-born passengers landing on our shores since the formation of the government is 7,812,167. The growth in a half century may be seen in this — in the year 1820 there came 8,385; in 1870 there came 387,098! Of the sum total, 3,831,740 were from England, Scotland and Ireland; 2,361,000 from Germany, including Austria; 151,300 from Sweden and Norway; 245,000 from France; 108,600 from China. Of those who landed prior to January 1, 1870, 1,824,442 were laborers; 942,524 farmers; 551,958 mechanics; 320,320 merchants; 127,675 servants; 88,157 miners; 47,050 mariners, 18,432 clerks; 7,183 clergymen; 4,140 lawyers; and 4,584,505 whose occupation is not stated. In 1870 65,000 Irish, 49,000 English and Scotch, and 72,000 Germans landed at the port of New York.

— The great Congress of Old Catholics, and those opposed to Papal Infallibility and Jesuit rule, which met in Munich last September, was composed of some four hundred persons, many of them among the most noted theologians and scholars of Europe, coming from all quarters. The programme was drawn up by Drs. Döllinger and Schultz. As a leader we have not much faith in the first named. We hope more from the force of circumstances compelling him to go forward, than from any courage or purpose of his own. By this programme the members of the Congress declare, in substance,

"That they are still Catholics, and will neither renounce their rights nor submit to expulsion from the church; that they stand on the Creed of the Council of Trent, and reject all dogmas proclaimed

during the present pontificate; that the clergy and laity have a right of which they cannot be deprived, to reject any new dogma that is at variance with the traditions and past history of the church; that the clergy should be allowed to study modern science, and cannot properly do the work whereunto they are called if tyrannized over by the bishops; that the Pope is not superior in political or temporal affairs, and cannot be elevated to such sovereignty by any Convocation or Ecumenical Council; that the Jesuits are teachers and supporters of a false and corrupting system of morals, and should be curbed or suppressed by the government of the States in which they seek to labor; that the priests under censure for fidelity to the ancient faith are wrongly interdicted from performing the offices of the church, and should be recognized and sustained in their positions and functions by the secular governments of Europe."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1 The Life of Jesus, the Christ. By Henry Ward Beecher. Illustrated. New York: J. B. Ford & Company. Boston: 11 Bromfield St. Octavo Edition $3.50 to $6.00. Imperial Edition $7.50 to $15.00. [Sold only by subscription].

When this work was first announced, we said within ourself, It will be a failure — Mr. Beecher is a wonderful preacher, a picturesque writer, a prose-poet, a great painter in words; but he is not a great scholar, nor a theologian, nor a critic. So we thought, and so we suppose multitudes of others thought. Yet the book is not a failure, but a perfect success, and shows that few men are better fitted to appreciate the conditions, surroundings and peculiarities of the Saviour's life, or to paint them more vividly to the comprehension of the popular mind.

The work does not pretend to be learned or controversial in the sense of a philosophical and critical discussion of the multiform phases of modern rationalism and infidelity; but at the same time, the author has not overlooked the books or objections coming from these quarters, and has endeavored by his peculiar manner of stating the facts and circumstances in each case to take away the grounds on which the supposed difficulties rest. As he says in his preface, "I have not invented a life of Jesus to suit the critical philosophy of the nineteenth century: it is the Jesus of the gospels, and not a modern substitute, whom I have sought to depict in his life, his social relations, his disposition, deeds and doctrine; endeavoring to present scenes that occurred two thousand years ago as they would appear to modern eyes if the events had taken place in our day."

[illegible] degree, and we [illegible] of Jesus which will be welcomed by the great multi[illegible] which [illegible] on many points, and [illegible] challenge the [illegible] argument of the [illegible] events and persons as clear, distinct, [illegible] management of the minute [illegible] of Stanley's [illegible]

[illegible] in this direction, where Mr. Beecher's [illegible] the merit and attraction of [illegible] It is a true picture of Jesus as he appeared, [illegible] among the people: a transcript of the [illegible] among the high and lowly, in Jerusalem, in [illegible] of Galilee, and on the shores of Genesareth. It sets us [illegible] which followed Jesus, and we hear their con[illegible] the motive power of their ac[illegible] in sympathy with them as they listen to the [illegible] on the Mount, or are stirred by his wonderful and fascinating [illegible] Pharisees, Priests, John Baptist, Nicodemus, the [illegible] Well, are all living personages; and, though [illegible] characteristics of their age and country, are in full [illegible] with all the good and evil of universal humanity, kindred with the men and women of to-day. It brings the first century into the nineteenth, and the believers of Galilee and Judea into some sort of human fellowship with those of America and Europe.

In this commendation we are not endorsing all Mr. Beecher's opinions and interpretations of the sacred text. His pet heresy — that Jesus is very God, that there is no God but Jesus, appears constantly. Some of his applications of texts are wide of the mark, as in the Parables in Matthew xiii., where he makes ἄνω the equivalent of κόσμος; and Math. v. 25, where he makes the "Adversary" to be the Almighty, "a rigorous creditor."

Mr. Beecher believes in the Inspiration of the Scriptures, but does not believe that it "makes provision for the very words and sentences," and excludes "the possibility of literary inaccuracy or minor and immaterial mistakes." He believes Jesus is the Infinite God; but that "he went into captivity to himself, wrapping in weakness and forgetfulness his divine energies, *while he was a babe!* and "was subject to the restrictions which hold and hinder common men." He believes in a personal devil; but does not believe that he came to Jesus *in propria persona*, and tempted him in the wilderness. He believes in a life of temperance; but he believes also that "our Lord did make (at the marriage feast in Cana) and use fermented wines."

The present volume comprises only Part I., but the second part may be looked for at an early date. The publishers have sent the work out in a dress as elegant as the most devout lover of books can desire.

2. The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English. With Analyses and Introductions. By B. Jowett, M. A. Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. 4 vols. Charles Scribner & Co. pp. 2,500. $12.00.

We cannot agree with Emerson that Plato is the sun of the ancient and modern intellectual system, sending out all the light and warmth enjoyed by the planetary worlds composing it; that he was and is the centre from which all knowledge, past, present and to come, is radiated upon mankind; or that "in Plato you explore modern Europe in its causes and seed, all that in thought which the history of Europe embodies or has yet to embody," or find in him "every new crop in the fertile harvest of reform, and every fresh suggestion of modern humanity." This is simply the exaggeration of a poet-philosopher. That Plato was the most gifted and cultivated mind of the ancient world, with few if any equals in the modern world; remarkable alike for the greatness of his faculties, the breadth and depth of his investigations, the severity of his analysis, the largeness and quality of his thought, no well-informed person will probably question — but when he is made, for the present and for all time to come, the sufficient fountain of knowledge in theology, morals, politics, civilization and human growth, it is a little too much to concede without some discussion. Besides, even his most ardent admirers must confess that while at times there is a wealth of thought that astonishes, and a style that charms, there is, nevertheless, a good deal of vague, misty, unintelligible talk — perhaps often intentionally so, for a purpose — yet the fact remains, and not even the fluent and lucid translation of Prof. Jowett can always shape it into good common sense; as for example, in *Timæus*, in portions of the eighth book of the *Republic*, &c.

However, whether he is all that is claimed or not, the English reader will now have an opportunity to decide, through grace of Prof. Jowett, whose translation is pronounced perfect in all respects by those most competent to judge. One thing we know, that whereas we have painfully read portions of Plato in other translations in order to learn his opinions on certain points, in reading *this* translation we obtain not only information, but absolute *pleasure*. It is no longer a labor to study the great philosopher, but a satisfaction, almost a recreation; and with such a translation, we cannot too strongly recommend the study of one whose influence has been so immense in the realm of philosophy and metaphysics, and whose speculations so largely affected the formation of dogmas in the early ages of Christianity.

Church doctrines of to-day are widely different from what they would have been but for the shaping power of Platonic philosophy. All histories of the Christian Church and doctrine furnish ample proof of this; and even Dr. Shedd says that "the Augustinian view of the origin and nature of sin, and of innate depravity, are closely connected with Platonic views," and confesses that "those theologians who exerted most influence in forming and establishing the final creed-statement, had been disciplined by the Greek intellectual methods." And Ritter, in English, tells us that "many who had been educated in the

schools of the philosophers mingled the doctrines of Plato with the simple truths of pure religion," and "desseminated Platonic notions as Christian truths," &c.

On the other hand, it is just to say that Plato's philosophy of ideas, and the spiritual tendency of many of his speculations, have done good service against the materialism of his own and all subsequent ages. And in these times, when so many scientists seem engaged to enthrone the body above the soul, and demonstrate thought to be merely the product of brain matter, we find another reason for urging familiarity with Plato's profound analysis of the faculties and capacities of the human mind, and his demonstration that there is something more of man than nerve and blood and brain. Dr. Ripley justly says,

"The claims of Plato to the study and admiration of thoughtful inquirers in this age of experiment and analysis, repose on his profound exposition of the ideas which lie beyond the domain of physical research, which no process of anatomy or chemistry can detect, and which are revealed only in the universal consciousness of humanity. No dissection of the brain, no tracing of the subtle threads of nervous action, no demonstration of the exquisite enginery of the heart, or the marvellous courses of the blood, throws the faintest light on the principle of justice, the sentiment of love, the obligations of duty, the aspirations of reverence, or, in one word, on the mystic Trinity of philosophy, the True, the Beautiful and the Good. Of this sublime evangel, Plato was the consecrated apostle. His message still finds an echo in the soul of the ages. His words of 'sweetness and light,' of moral beauty and intellectual grace, so acute, and yet so gentle, so masterly in logic, and yet so tender in emotion, will never lose their significance and power, until sensation has taken the place of ideas in the consciousness of man."

To help the student of these Dialogues to apprehend their purpose and drift, Prof. Jowett has prefixed to each a most elaborate and extended analysis of its contents and method of argument, which reproduces in clear and consistent statement the subtle thoughts and speculations of the great master. These introductions are of inestimable value as a help to the reading of Plato, and reveal the immense labor and careful study which the translator has bestowed upon his work.

The publisher's name is sufficient pledge of the style in which the volumes are issued — the clear type, tinted paper and neat binding fittingly mate the work of the translator. Students, teachers, and all lovers of learning, owe a large debt to the enterprise and liberality which have given us this beautiful American Edition of Plato.

3. Lectures on Satan. By Rev. Thaddeus McRae, Pastor of Presbyterian Church McVeytown, Pa. Gould & Lincoln. 90 cts.

It is surprising what an amount of authentic information respecting

"auld Hornie" is crowded into this small volume. "He is older than man, old, but not infirm;" "tall once in heaven, he is equally tall now in hell;" he was one minute an angel, the next a devil;" "he still possesses the same massive intellect with which he was originally endowed, and his knowledge is very extensive;" "he travels rapidly, tempting us here, and, in the same moment, crossing the Atlantic and effecting the ruin of some soul in Asia" (Europe?); "he is black, all blackness;" "heaven itself he would make a hell, and the great God he would damn! I do not slander him" (perhaps Satan might differ from you on this point); "he sometimes inspires jugglers, mesmerists and mediums;" "he is familiar with the Bible" (which is more than can be said, we humbly suggest, of his historian); "he is an expert anatomist" (which is more than can be said of some doctors;) "he is a Socinian" (we doubt this, because with his "extensive knowledge" and "massive intellect," he must have known, when he was in heaven, the facts respecting the Trinity); "when the hurricane presents its wrathful brow, or the earth rocks under foot, or the awful thunder utters its voice, the fiend has slipped his chain;" for "Satan is in chains," "his chains are *always* on him" (how then does he slip them, and manage to travel with such speed?) "he is a *useful*" (glad of so much) "but unwilling servant;" "God compels him to grind at the Almighty's mill!" "From the accursed kiss of Judas to the exit from the tomb, Jesus was under the unrestrained power of Satan" (!) "Behold the Son of God forsaken of heaven, hanging on the cross as the target of hell's damnable artillery"! "It is all over now; Satan has murdered the Lord Christ."!!

4. A Russian Journey. By Edna Dean Proctor. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. $1.50.

A sparkling, piquant, entertaining and informing volume. The writer sees everything worth seeing, and describes as picturesquely as she sees clearly. St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Russian Fairs, the Volga, the Empire of the East, the Azoff and Euxine Seas, Cossacks and Tartars, the Steppes and the Crimea, all stand out like living pictures. The visit of Prince Alexis makes this book timely, giving, as it does, a glimpse of the vast, varied, multiform, but yet united, centralized and mighty Russian Empire.

We like the prose of the book, but it is only just to say that the descriptive poems introducing the chapters are exceedingly beautiful, and constitute one of the chief charms of the narrative.

5. Atlantic Essays. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. $2.00

The title of this book will furnish no clue to the variety and value of its contents, except to those who have been constant readers of the *Atlantic Monthly*. "A Plea for Culture," "Literature as an Art," "Americanism in Literature," are among the very best examples of Magazine writing to be found; and they should be read for their

needed information, their fruitful suggestions, and for their style, or, in other words, their felicitous use of the English language. Mr. Higginson's scholarly habits and instincts, his devotion to literature as a profession, his love of books and his fine culture, admirably fit him to write such counsel, and pack into his sentences such wisdom and ripened fruit of reading as may be found in the "Letters to a Young Contributor," which, in behalf of our own eyes and brain, we do most affectionately commend to some contributors *not* young.

For the benefit of our ever welcome contributor — author of "Mediævalism and Nature" — we give following paragraph from the paper on "Sappho:"

"That love of external nature which is so often mistakenly said to have been wanting among the Greeks, is strongly marked in Sappho. She observes, 'the vernal swallows, and the melodious nightingale, Spring's hearald.' 'The moon,' she elsewhere says, 'was at the full, and the stars stood round her, as round an altar.' And again, 'The stars around the lovely moon withdraw their splendor when, in her fulness, she most illumines earth.' In the 'Song of the Rose,' she says, 'If Jupiter had wished to appoint a sovereign over the flowers, he would have made the rose their king. It is the ornament of the earth, the glory of plants, the eye of the flowers, the blush of the meadows, a flash of beauty. It breathes of love, adorns itself with fragrant leaves, and is decked with tremulous petals that laugh in the Zephyr.'"

In "A Charge with Prince Rupert," "Fayal and the Portuguese" and "The Puritan Minister," he shows a pleasant, narrative, picturesque style of description, and a facile use of words, which should attract the attention of all who wish to write well. It is seldom that we meet with a picture so historically perfect in lights and shades, so life-like in color and grouping, as that painted in Prince Rupert's Charge. Surface readers and careless writers should make it a study.

6. East and West Poems. By Bret Harte. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. $1.50.

We are not an admirer of the poetry which has given Bret Harte his fame. From the first we have thought, and said, his reputation is forced and factitious, and it cannot last. "The Heathen Chinee" was a happy hit; but its popularity is, and ought to be, transient. If its author ever achieves a lasting fame, it will not be in this direction. Some of the poems show that he is capable of better things. "A Greyport Legend," "A Newport Romance," "The Copperhead," "The Two Ships," "On a Pen of Thomas Starr King," "The Goddess," all reveal a rich vein, richer than anything we find in "Truthful James;" and, if he will hear us, we would urge him to work it faithfully, if he means to build for the future. One thing we like in him — he has faith in man, even when most degraded — that there is something good left, something worth saving.

7. The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church: A Series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By R. W. Dale, M. A. Gould & Lincoln. $2.00.

This is an able work from the Orthodox standpoint, but unsatisfactory to one not believing in the Trinity, Vicarious atonement, a Gen-

eral Judgment, Endless Punishment, &c. The book is saturated with the thought and spirit of the Sacrificial Theology, though here and there we have a liberal exegesis of texts and phrases, as "the world to come" being "equivalent to the kingdom of Christ," or "the religious dispensation which was to follow his advent" — "the church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven," which is the "spiritual community scattered over many lands, poor, persecuted, despised, but enrolled on high" — "shaking not the earth only, but also heaven," being the vanishing away of the Mosaic laws and institutions.

The author also makes a distinction "between a Divine Revelation and the human record of it. What God revealed to Moses is one thing; the account which Moses gives of that revelation is a very different thing." But how are we to know anything about the revelation which God made to Moses, except through the account which Moses himself gives of it? What other sources of information have we outside of what he has written? "In what Moses writes we may expect to find many things which did not come to him from Heaven" — yes, but, this being the case, how does Mr. Dale determine what *did* come to him from Heaven? Is not this orthodox view of the Bible substantially that of Dr. Hedge and his school? and is it not a meeting and union of extremes? And does it not all come to this at last — that there is a divine and a human element in the Bible, and that in the final appeal, Reason must decide which is the one, and which the other? And in this case, which is supreme, the Bible or Reason?

8. How To Do It. By Edward Everett Hale. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. $1.50.

It is a mistake to suppose this charming, amusing and useful little book is only for young people. It is equally needed by multitudes of people who have less knowledge than years; parents who do not know "how to do it" any better than their sons and daughters; men and women, well-informed in current matters of interest, but who do not know how to read, or write, or talk, or travel, or go into society, or even behave at church, in a proper manner. Let them get this book, and Mr. Hale in his quaint, humorous, attractive and sensible way, will tell them exactly how to do all these things, and more. His pages are crowded with good sense and practical wisdom, and bright with anecdote and story, with pleasant talk and words of cheer, which not only show how to do it, but are sure to teach courage to the timid, and modesty to the self-sufficient, in doing it.

9. Americanisms; the English of the New World. By M. Schele De Vere, LL.D., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia, author of "Studies in English," etc. Charles Scribner & Co. $3.00.

It is well that every lover of good English should see how rapidly foreign terms and slang phrases are corrupting its purity, reducing its strength and destroying its elegance. Doubtless in many cases it is enriched by what it borrows from other tongues; and sometimes its

vocabulary has been enlarged by the invention of new, and, at first, even barbarous words; but doubtless, also, terms have crept into use, and are now likely to hold a permanent place in our speech, which are an abomination to the ears and eyes of those who desire to preserve the wells of English undefiled.

Prof. De Vere has shown, with wonderful industry, the sources of these foreign corruptions, and credits them respectively to the Dutchman, the Frenchman, the Spaniard, the German, the Negro and the Chinaman; not forgetting, nearer home, the slang terms which have been contributed by the Indian, the Great West, and the Yankee. In addition to these, he has also, with equal diligence and success, gathered up all the words and phrases which have been added to our language by the Church, Politics, Natural History, Trade, the Railroad, the Sailor on fresh water and salt, &c. &c. It is probable that a work so diversified in its material, so extensive in its reach, and embracing such multitudinous details, is not without mistakes; which we find to be the case with regard to some New England terms. But it is impossible that any one, however well read, who has not made English a special study, can go through these 700 pages without a large increase of quaint and curious knowledge respecting the origin, meaning and proper use of hundreds of words and phrases, which, if he is a literary man, will be very useful to him, and in any case will prove entertaining and instructive. We shall place the volume on our table for constant reference, next to Roget's "Thesaurus of English words."

10. The Bremen Lectures, on Fundamental, Living Religious Questions. By Various Eminent European Divines. Translated from the German by Rev. D. Heagle. With an Introduction by Alvah Hovey, D. D., President of Newton Theological Institute. Gould & Lincoln. $1.75.

The subjects discussed are "The Biblical Account of Creation and Natural Science," "Reason, Conscience and Revelation," "Miracles," "The Person of Jesus Christ," "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ as a Soteriological Fact," "The Scriptural Doctrine of Atonement," "The Authenticity of our Gospels," by Tischendorf, "The Idea of the Kingdom of God as Perfected, and its Significancy for Historical Christianity" by Dr. Lange, "Christianity and Culture."

Our expectations of this volume have not been fully realized. We do not think it has the breadth of view Dr. Hovey claims for it. Several of the lectures are devoted rather more to the defence of orthodox theology than of the Christian religion. Indeed, we think the first volume of the Boston Lectures, on the same general theme, will not suffer in comparison with these German Lectures, either on the score of learning, logic, breadth, or freedom from sectarianism. There are, however, two of the chapters which we can heartily commend, that on "The Biblical Account of Creation" by Dr. Zöckler, and that on the "Authenticity of our Gospels" by Tischendorf. We have been specially interested in the first, and propose to give our readers in the next *Quarterly* some examples of the happy manner in

which the lecturer turns the tables on his adversaries, and shows how often the scientist as well as the interpreter of the Bible has been compelled to a change of base.

11. Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle Round the World. By Charles Darwin, M. A., F. R. S. Author of "Origin of Species," &c. *New Edition.* D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

This book, as fresh as if written yesterday, was published years before Mr. Darwin had become famous, and first attracted public attention to him as a careful observer of natural phenomena, a scientific student of large attainments, and an original and independent thinker. It is a pleasant sketch of voyaging, embracing valuable and always suggestive observations on geology, natural history, earthquakes, volcanoes, coral formations, sea coasts and mountains; beautiful pictures of scenery, graphic descriptions of storms, and curious notes on the habits of beasts, birds, fish, and insects; and, not least, important and interesting remarks respecting the peoples with whom he comes in contact, especially the Indians, the savages of Terra del Fuego and Patagonia, and the mining population of Chili. The Indians, whether in North or South America, seem doomed to extermination.

The Fuegians eat their old women in time of famine before eating their dogs, because "doggy catch otter; old woman no catch 'em." Each tribe or family has "a wizard or conjuring doctor;" which seems to conflict with the half-assertion that they have no worship, nor belief in a future state. They believe in dreams, but not in the devil. Their miserable canoes and huts, their implements and weapons, their social and domestic degradation, their brutal instincts and beastly condition, are the same as in the time of Drake, 250 years ago.

Were they created after this pattern, as Lubbock would have us believe? or did they begin as monkeys, according to Darwin's theory? In either case, the sixty or hundred thousand years claimed for man on earth seem to have done precious little for them in the way of development. A work noticed in our October number showed a similar state of things among the tribes at the extreme North. Is social, moral and religous growth as natural and inevitable to man, without divine aid, as buds, blossoms and leaves are to the tree?

12. The Children's Album of Pretty Pictures with Short Stories. By Uncle John. 26th Thousand. Lee & Shepard. pp. 367. $1.50.
The Children's Sunday Album. By the Author of "A Trap to Catch a Sunbeam," &c. With upwards of One Hundred and Fifty Illustrations. Third Edition. Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. pp. 320. $1.50.

We take great pleasure in announcing these beautiful books. They will make most welcome gifts for the holidays, and are every way unexceptionable. Nothing can be better for young children; pleasant to the eye, and instructive in a way that cannot fail to attract and improve the young mind and heart. Every picture occupies a full

page, and opposite is a story to match, which also occupies just a page; so that in the first volume we have about 180 pictures and as many stories, and in the second, or Sunday Album, 160 of each, every one of them teaching in the sweetest way an excellent lesson. For the sake of the "little people," we solicit the attention of parents to these books. The Publishing House, no doubt, will furnish them.

13. A History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time. By Dr. Freidrich Ueberweg, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Konigsberg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by Geo. S. Morris, A. M., Prof. of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With Additions by Noah Porter, D. D., LL.D., President of Yale College. With a Preface by the Editors of Scribner's Philosophical and Theological Library. Vol. I. History of Ancient and Mediæval Philosophy. New York. Charles Scribner & Co. 8 vo. $3.50.

This is the first volume of the "Theological Library" to be issued by Scribner & Company, under the editorship of Drs. Smith and Schaff, which the reader will find announced among the "Book Notes." The value of this admirable work will be readily estimated by comparing it with Enfield's volumes on the same theme; if such a comparison is allowable where the difference is so immense. In the thoroughness of its treatment, in the impartiality of its judgments, and in the exhaustive study and use of authorities, Dr. Ueberweg's History is probably the most complete and conclusive which has yet been produced.

The method adopted is that of Hagenbach in his History of Doctrines — distributing the materials into Periods, and these into Divisions, and the whole into Sections numbered consecutively to the end of the work. Under each section is given, first, condensed statements, in fair and open type, of the leading features of that portion of the subject treated; following which is the literature of the subject, embracing all the leading and reliable authories; and then, in an extended form, we have the several propositions or statements of the first part expanded and supported by quotations from the original authorities, mostly translated for the benefit of the general reader, though where there is doubt the original text is also given for the convenience of scholars. Probably no manual exists giving such an ample and careful collection of authorities and citations, or such a generous literature of subjects. The opinions of the various schools, and the peculiarities of the more distinguished teachers, are all set forth with great clearness of statement, and with entire freedom from prejudice or special leanings; and this is done, whenever it is possible, in the very language of the authors themselves, thus allowing every man to be his own witness, and securing a very pleasing and attractive variety of style.

We have repeatedly taken the volume in hand with a view to general examination for notice, but in every case, wherever we chanced to open, instead of investigation and comparison with other works, we have been drawn into continuous reading for hours, and with so much enjoyment and profit as to forget entirely the special object of reading

— in other words, losing the editor in the reader. We have not space at present to specify the several features in which the attraction and merit of this work may be found, and the charm which lures the reader so willingly from page to page; though we propose hereafter to call attention to some of these, and to illustrate the points with such extracts as will be most likely to interest our readers, and to show them the value of this able work.

It saddens us to record the death of the amiable and learned author, even while revising the last proofs of this translation with which he was highly pleased. He died on the 7th of last June, at the early age of 45, in the midst of his usefulness, and of manifold literary plans for the future. The second volume will soon appear, for which he has forwarded special notes and additions. The work is gotten up in the usual substantial and elegant style of the publishers; and those who, like ourself, have often felt the want of such a Manual, will thank them for the generous enterprise which has so satisfactorily supplied it.

14. The Debatable Land between this World and the Next. With Illustrative Narrations. By Robert Dale Owen. Author of "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World." New York: G. W. Carlton & Co.

This book is, of course, written in the interests of so-called Spiritualism, but is written in a candid and earnest spirit, with intelligence, and an evidently honest purpose. The argument is substantially this: Christ and his apostles wrought certain wonderful works, which, it is claimed, were miracles. The Catholic Church claims, on equally good evidence, that similar works have been wrought by saintly persons in its own communion in all ages since. If Christ's works were really miracles, then, by the same rule of evidence, those of the Catholic Church are. If this be denied, then we are forced to the conclusion that all these works were and are wrought under certain laws regulating spiritual forces; and if so, then those laws are in operation to-day; as it would be contrary to reason and science to suppose that God makes laws to last a hundred years, and then to be repealed. The author then proceeds at great length in his illustrative narrative of spiritualistic phenomena to demonstrate, as he thinks, the last named theory; and to show that works of the same character with those of the first century are wrought to-day by persons endowed with spiritual powers and gifts.

These narratives are simply a repetition of the wondrous stories current for the last twenty years respecting rappings, table-tippings, spirit-writing, apparitions, revelations from the spirit world, &c. That some of these statements are true, that the alledged phenomena actually occured, cannot be reasonally denied; but that they are indisputably the work of departed spirits, is altogether another question. And the conclusion does not logically follow that they are such, because we cannot give a satisfactory explanation of them on any other theory, because we cannot detect the cause nor expound the law of their occurrence. We cannot explain the wonders of the Aurora Bo-

realis, but it would be neither logical nor scientific to argue that therefore we are bound to admit that they are caused by a torchlight procession of spirits up the northern skies. We confess that many of these phenomena, as reported by men whose veracity and intelligence are beyond question, are wonderful and inexplicable upon any acknowledged theory of mind or matter—and this is as far as we can go at present. However in reading some of these marvellous narratives we were reminded of the following from *Japan*, the first volume in *Scribner's Library of Travel:*

"I was a witness to some astonishing specimens of illusion. After a variety of tricks with tops, cups of water, and paper butterflies, the juggler exhibited to the spectator a large open fan which he held in his right hand, then threw into the air, caught by the handle in his left hand, squatted down, fanned himself, and then, turning his head in profile, gave a long sigh, during which the image of a galloping horse issued from his mouth. Still fanning himself, he shook from his right sleeve an army of little men, who presently, bowing and dancing, vanished from sight. Then he bowed, closed the fan and held it in his two hands, during which time his own head disappeared, then became visible, but of colossal size, and finally reappeared in its natural dimensions, but multiplied four or five times. They set a jar before him, and in a short time he issued from the neck, rose slowly into the air and vanished in clouds along the ceiling.

BOOK NOTES.

Scribner's Theological and Philosophical Library. Students of Theology and Philosophy will hear with great satisfaction that Scribner & Co. have commenced the publication of a series of works with the above title, to be edited by Drs. Henry B. Smith and Philip Schaff. It is proposed to furnish compendious text-books in all the main departments of Theology and Philosophy, especially adapted to the wants of ministers and students in all denominations; in a word, a simplified, yet full and sufficient apparatus of study. The subjects to be included are classed in the five following general departments: Biblical Theology, Historical Theology, Systematic Theology, Practical Theology and Philosophy. The well known character of Editors and Publishers guaranties a valuable and attractive series of volumes.

The same publishers announce also a "Library of Travel, Exploration and Adventure" to be edited by Bayard Taylor, of which more hereafter.

"The "Bible Commentary," initiated by the Speaker of the English House of Commons, of which we promised to give our readers an account as soon as published, has not reached us yet.

Real Folks. By Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Author of "We Girls," "Faith Gartney's Girlhood," &c. With Illustrations. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. [Mrs. Whitney always writes with a purpose, and seldom fails to reach it. "Real Folks" is a story in which the useful and the pleasing are so skilfully interwoven that you cannot, and do not wish to, have one without the other.]

Short Studies on Great Subiects. By James Anthony Froude, M. A. *Second Series.* Charles Scribner & Co. [Contains the famous paper on "Calvinism" which has attracted so much attention; also "Education," "On Progress," the "Scientific Method applied to Theology," "The Eastern Question," &c. But the most notable paper in the book, to us, is the "Condition and Prospects of Protestantism." Our Evangelical Clergy will do well to take to heart its sharp and just censures, and ask whether it is not time for a new Reformation. We should like to copy the entire article of twenty-five pages; and some day, perhaps, when our contributors fail us, we may do so.]

Poetical Works of Robert Burns. Edited by the Rev. R. A. Willmott. A New Edition, with numerous Illustrations. Lee & Shepard. $1.50. [A brief but sufficient and satisfactory sketch of the Poet, and the neatest, best edited and most convenient edition of his Poems we have ever had in hand.]

Scribner's Illustrated Library of Wonders. Mountain Adventures in Various Parts of the World. Selected from the Narratives of Celebrated Travellers. With an Introduction and Additions. By J. T. Headley. With Forty-one Illustrations. Charles Scribner & Co. [A delightful and informing book, and, like its predecessors, worthy a place in every Family and Sunday School Library. We write the Publisher's name with a sad heart, for we shall probably write it in this connection no more. It has been so constantly on the pages of the *Quarterly* for years, that we shall grievously miss it. Few men have deserved more at the hands of scholars and all lovers of good books than Charles Scribner; and no one will be remembered by them more gratefully and tenderly for the great and useful work he has done in the World of Letters].

Onward and Upward Series. Cringle and Cross-Tree; or the Sea Swashes of a Sailor. By Oliver Optic. With Fourteen Illustrations. Lee & Shephard. $1.50. [The hero of the Series, of which this is the fourth volume, grows in our esteem, because more and more he shows the value of Christian principle, and the sure triumph of integrity and truth. In all changes he never forgets his Bible, nor the lessons learned in Church and Sunday School; never fails in all his difficulties to pray God for assistance and guidance. It is a book every boy should read.

William Henry and his Friends. By Mrs. A. M. Diaz, Author of "William Henry Letters." With Illustrations. James R. Osgood. [Few ventures in Juvenile Literature met with such wonderful success as the "William Henry Letters," and few more richly deserved it. The Letters were so natural, fresh and original, such an amusing and rollicking sketch of genuine boy nature, that all boys — and girls as well — and all who remembered when they were boys, equally enjoyed the reading of those astonishing Letters, illustrated as they were by William Henry himself. All that is necessary to say of the present volume is that it is a sequel to that, and worthy of its "illustrious predecessor."

The Wanderer: A Colloquial Poem. By William Ellery Channing. Jas. R. Osgood & Co. [Endorsed by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who writes a Preface, and pronounces it a "genuinely original poem." It has some fine passages descriptive of the serene beauties of Nature, happy allusions to classic fables, some strong passages denouncing slavery and other wrongs, and some passages where the fog of words conceals the islands of thought.]

The Last Tournament. By Alfred Tennyson. James R. Osgood. [As the work of Tennyson who has written so much that is beautiful and inspiring, it may be necessary to praise this last gift of his to the expectant world — but we respectfully ask to be excused this once.]

Ladies' Repository. We feel a just pride in *Our Monthly.* Its editorials and contributions are fully equal in excellence to any magazine of its class in the country. It is the only magazine of its class of the Universalist Church, and our people should take special interest in it and a just pride in sustaining it. It is the aim of the House to make it strictly a Religious and Literary periodical, adapted to the Home Circle of Universalist families, and its pages are filled with matter as entertaining, and far more useful than that found in many Monthlies of greater pretensions. It ought to be in every family of our denomination.

The *Atlantic Monthly* promises some things new and rich for the year 1872: "The Poet at the Breakfast Table," a serial by Holmes; a newly dscovered Romance by Hawthorne; "Life of Jefferson" in chapters, by Parton; an enlarged "Editorial Depart-

ment," embracing a review of prominent phases of literature, science, politics, art and music. The politics discussed will be those of the whole country, and the scientific notes a resume of the scientific facts and speculations of each month. Through its pages the reader will have communion with the best minds and culture of the country.

Old and New is as fresh, varied and attractive as ever. The first instalment of the six-fold story by E. E. Hale, Mrs. Stowe, and others; "Sorrento Papers" "The Companion of Paradise," a beautiful Hebrew Legend, teaching the same lesson with Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem"; with papers on "Working Men's Homes," "What shall be done with the Dead?" "The Karaite Jews," and "Recent Theological Literature in Germany," are the leading features of the December number. The last three numbers of 1871 are *given* to subscribers for 1872. The range of *Old and New* is wider than that attempted by any other magazine in America. It gives not only a review of current literature and pleasing sketches and stories, but also a discussion, at the hand of the ablest authors, of the gravest questions of politics, religion, social order and history.

The *Book Buyer* announces the publication in England of two more volumes of Ewald's "History of Israel," being the third and fourth, embracing the rise and splendor of the Hebrew Monarchy, its disruption, and subsequent history to its fall. Also a new work in one octavo volume containing *The History of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria*, B. C. 668 to 626, *and son of Esarhaddon*. It is entirely translated from the cuneiform, or arrow-headed records, impressed in clay cylinders, and now in the British Museum, brought from Nineveh. The text of them is printed in the volume, and is accompanied by an interlinear translation by Mr. George Smith. These annals mention the conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians under Esarhaddon and his son, and give the Assyrian view of the the history of Jerhakah, Mecho, and Psammuthis. In the affairs of Asia Minor, Gyges and Ardys kings of Lydia occur, affording a point of contact with the Greek historians, and proving the historical existence of persons hitherto regarded as of mythical character. Also *The last Twelve Verses of the Gospel of St. Mark* vindicated against recent critical objections and established, a new work by Rev. Jno. W. Burgon, Gresham, Lecturer in Divinity, Oxford. It is enriched with fac-similies of ancient MSS., and is of value to those interested in the criticism of the Greek Scriptures.

We learn, *not* from the Unitarian Association, that new English editions of "Channings's Complete Works" and "Priestley's Corruptions of Christianity," have recently been issued, and are for sale at the Unitarian Rooms, the first, we believe, at *one dollar*. Of the last we cannot speak—nor of the paper, type and style of either.

Half-Hour Recreations in Popular Science No. 1. Strange Discoveries respecting the Aurora, and Recent Solar Researches. By Richard A. Proctor, author of "Other Lands than Ours." Lee & Shepard. 25 cts. [The publishers propose to issue monthly under this title, a series of papers compiled from the works of the most popular scientific writers of the day — embracing modern discoveries, social status, natural phenomena, &c., prepared in a way to instruct and interest the average American reader, and to promote the mental and moral growth of all who read. This number is a good beginning, and the next will give an explanation of that ever increasing wonder of science — *The Spectrum Analysis*.

Guilt and Innocence. By Marie Sophie Schwartz. Translated from the Swedish, by Selma Borg and Marie A. Brown. Lee & Shepard.

The Wonders of Engraving. By George Duplessis. Illustrated with Thirty-four Engravings. Charles Scribner & Co. $1.50.

Transcendentalism. By William B. Greene. Fourth Edition, pp. 96; and The Facts of Consciousness and the Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, pp. 32, by the same author. Lee & Shepard.

The Upward and Onward Series. Desk and Debit; or, the Catastrophes of a Clerk. By Oliver Optic. With Fourteen Illustrations. Lee & Shepard. $1.25.

The Works of Charles Dickens. Dombey and Son. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank, Leech and Browne. D. Appleton & Co. 75 cts.

My Heroine. A Story. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cts.

The Sower's Reward. By the Author of May Powell. Complete and Unabridged. T. B. Peterson. 25 cts.

Tancred; or the New Crusade. By the Rt. Hon. Benjamin Disraeli. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cts.

ARTICLE VIII.

Sin and Salvation.

IT is very likely that we may not know *why* sin exists. It is more than probable that we are not able, in our present state, to understand the primary and absolute cause of sin. To inquire *why* sin exists, is to inquire why the world is such a world as it is, and why God created man such a being as he is. This question our philosophy may not answer.

We may say, it is true, that it is best that sin should exist, as that, in the end, it will be seen that its existence has proved a blessing. But this is the answer of *faith*, and not of philosophy. It is simply saying that God, being such a Being as we believe him to be, we must believe that under his government sin will result some way in good to the world; in establishing for man in his final state such a character as God designed him to have, a character which he never could have attained to without the existence of sin. If, therefore, by the origin of sin we mean the absolute reason of its existence, it is more than probable that we may not know it.

If, however, by the origin of sin is meant no more than the manner of its development, the process of its evolution, it seems possible for us to understand it. We may not know *why* man sins, but we ought, it would seem, to know *how* he sins. We may not comprehend the *cause* of sin, but we may its *process*. Given man such a being as he is, in such a world as we find him, we ought to be able to solve the problem of his sinfulness, to answer how it happens that he is a sinner.

Indeed, if we cannot do this, it would seem impossible for us to ascertain how he is to be saved. If we cannot comprehend the process of sin, how is it possible for us to comprehend the process of salvation. The diagnosis of the disease must be known before we can correctly apprehend or apply the remedy.

1. Let us see, then, if we can ascertain how we sin, discover

the process of sinning. Sin is an act; strictly speaking it is never anything else. When we speak of sin as anything else, we speak figuratively, not literally. Literally sin is always an act, the act of a moral being. In any but a moral being it is, of course, impossible.

Sin, therefore, is a an act of man's spiritual powers. All sin belongs to the soul. The spirit sins; the body never. Strictly speaking, the hands never did one act of sin. The sin was done before the hands were called into use. The mind sins, and the hands bring the sin to the surface — project it into the outer world. They serve only as instruments in the *exodus* of sin. The overt act is only an exponent of the covert act. It has no moral quality any farther than it receives it from the act of the mind.

If involuntarily, or without any evil intent, I injure my fellow man, my act is not sinful. The hands may do a deed very injurious in its consequences, but if in doing it they are not under the direction of an evil, designing spirit, they commit no sin. Sin, therefore, exists in the mind, and the deeds of the flesh only manifest it. Consequently the existence of sin does not, in any way, depend on the body. Its manifestation may, but not its existence. The soul may sin, though the bodily members act not at all.

If I have determined to do wrong — as, for instance, to speak falsely of my neighbor — I have sinned, though I never utter the word. In that mental act of determining to do this thing, consisted the sin. The opportunity of uttering the evil word may never occur, or I may, on reflection, change my intention, but I have sinned all the same. Sin, therefore, belongs exclusively to the "inward parts." It is an act of the mind or soul. It is conceived and done in the moral or spiritual department of man's nature. Hence there is a date prior to which man is not a sinner. Before he begins to act *consciously* as a moral being he is not a sinner. The infant's anger is not sin, any more than the rage of a wild beast. This because his moral nature is not yet so developed as to enable him to see the evil or wrong of anger. His angry cries are but

the expressions of his restrained or disappointed animal nature. Cage a lion and he will roar with rage. Refuse to gratify the animal wants of a child, and he will cry with anger, but there is no more sin in the one case than in the other. Therefore sin cannot be hereditary. If in man's existence there is a time prior to which he is not a sinner, then his sin cannot be entailed. Admit the existence of this sinless period, however short, and the line of sin's descent is effectually cut. Still more, there is no transferring of sin, if sin be an act. No one can sin for me, or in my place, if sin be an act of the mind, for there can be no such thing as the transmission of a mental act. Whatever else, therefore, may be transmitted, sin cannot be.

Very likely evil tendencies are transmitted. Vicious parents may entail upon their children tendencies towards the vices of which they are guilty. But these tendencies are not sin, because they may be counteracted before they produce any evil consequences. A man may be born with a predisposition to steal, but that does not make him a thief, for he may so restrain and control it as to be an honest man. The appetite for intoxicating liquors may be hereditary, but that does not constitute the sin of intemperance. Until these tendencies are yielded to and allowed to have their way, no sin is committed.

Furthermore, the possession of these tendencies does not make one blame-worthy. A man is not to blame for the disposition he inherits any more than for the color of his skin. Constitutional tendencies, whether good or bad, are worthy of neither praise nor blame. If, at birth, one's nature is out of balance, he is not responsible for it. Somebody may be responsible for it, but *he is not*. His ancestors may be to blame, but no blame can be attached to him. The very idea of sin implies blame, implies moral responsibility; hence evil tendencies are not sin. When the mind yields to these tendencies, then sin results. But this yielding is an act of the mind, therefore sin is always an act.

Sin is sometimes called a disease, we are aware, but it can be called this only in some secondary or figurative sense.

Disease is a condition. When applied to the mind it signifies an evil or abnormal mental state. But sin is not a condition. A cat, or what is termed a sinful condition of mind, may result from sin, but in and of itself it is not sin. An evil hereditary tendency constitutes a bad state of mind, but this we have seen is not sin.

So the doing of many acts of sin produces a habit of sin. As for instance, the constant telling of lies creates a disposition to lie, but this disposition is the result of these sins, and not the sins themselves. The first lie was an act; so was the second, so was the third, so was every one to the very last. And the lying habit is neither one nor all of these lies combined, but the state of mind produced by these lies. Sin, therefore, as a disease, is a state of mind produced by successive acts of sin. Hence it is not, strictly speaking, sin, but the result or effect of sin. And so we come back to our definition, that sin is always an act, an act of the mind or spirit.

How then does it happen that we do this act? By what process are we led into the sinful deed? Observe that sin is an act of the mind or will, a resolution or determination of the spirit. Until this resolution is taken, this determination formed, no sin exists. While we are deliberating, thinking over in our minds whether or not we shall do the wrong, balancing the reasons for and against the given course of conduct, no sin is evolved. It is the mental act, the act of determining to do what we know to be wrong, that constitues sin.

Now this act can exist only under certain condititions. Two things are necessary to make the act of sin possible. First, temptation, and second the absence of sufficient moral strength to resist temptation.

Evidently, if there were not temptation there would be no sin. If nothing drew us towards the wrong, we would never transgress. Temptation is the offer of something which is to be obtained by stepping aside from the path of duty. If, then, we have no wants, or if our wants were always supplied in a legitimate manner, and to a proper extent, temptation would be impossible. But man is an aggregation of wants. Human

nature is full of desires, and these desires are all blind. They know nothing of right or wrong. The desire for food will arise just as soon, and be just as strong when the food is bad or not our own, as when it is good, and we have the unquestioned right to take it.

These desires seek nothing but their own gratification. They never inquire whether the gratification is right or wrong. All they know or ask is the gratification itself. Hence when the opportunity is presented of gratifying these desires by stepping aside from the path of duty, we are tempted. Temptation, however, is not sin. Not until we yield to temptation do we become sinners. Temptation is not to be courted, it is true; but not because it is sin, but because it is liable to lead to sin.

But why do we yield to temptation? Evidently because we possess not sufficient moral power to resist. If we did, then we would not yield, and sin would not exist. If we had that righteousness of will, that holiness of heart, that strength of moral purpose, which would enable us, on all occasions, to resist temptation, then we should not sin. Christ was tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin. Why without sin? Because he possessed sufficient moral strength of will to enable him, on all occasions, to put temptation aside. Hence if every man possessed this moral strength, no sin would be committed, though the world were full of temptation. The absence of this moral power, therefore, is another essential condition of sin. This moral weakness is not sin; it is one of the conditions which make sin possible, but in and of itself it is not sin.

Having, then, these two conditions before us, the process of sin is very plain. Having temptation and moral weakness given, we see very clearly how sin is evolved. It results from the conduct of these two. When temptation attacks a morally weak will, the will yields, and sin is committed. This moral weakness is a fact of our nature. We are not born moral heroes, any more than intellectual giants. Undoubtedly at birth some have more moral power than others, but none have this

power in perfection; or, to speak more accurately, some have better moral faculties, or, which amounts to the same thing, weaker animal propensities than others, which renders the development of this power easier and more rapid than in others. Very likely, in a perfectly balanced nature, the power of resistance would be equal to the power of temptation, and hence no sin would be evolved.

But such is not man's nature *now*, if it ever was. His animal nature develops first, and becomes quite strong before his moral nature begins to unfold. This is a necessity of his present state of existence, for, in this world he must have a house to live in before he can begin to live. Nevertheless, this prior developement of his animal nature gives strength to his fleshly desires, which renders it more difficult for the moral nature to resist, when it begins to assert its authority, than it would be if they both unfolded at the same time and with equal rapidity. This prior developement of the animal, throws, as it were, the nature of man out of balance; and it is only by developing and cultivating the moral that it can be put in balance again.

Besides, this moral weakness increases with every act of transgression. The power of resistance grows less every time we yield to temptation. Every improper indulgence of desire strengthens that desire and weakens our control over it. Our moral imbecility increases with every successive act of sin; and so sin, by the constant doing of these acts, becomes in us, metaphorically speaking, a disease.

2. We pass now to consider the remedy for this disease. How can we be saved from sin, and what is the process of salvation set forth in the gospel? Evidently there are two methods of salvation possible to man. Sin being an act, there are two ways in which men can be saved from doing this act. As there are two conditions which make sin possible, so there are two ways for the prevention of sin. The removal of either one of these conditions would make sin impossible. Remove the temptation, or take away the moral weakness, and no sin would be committed.

Evidently, if there were no temptation there would be no

sin. Sin is an act, and if all inducement to the performance of that act be taken away, the act itself could not exist, no matter how morally weak we might be. One remedy for sin, therefore, is the removal of temptation.

But this remedy is not, strictly speaking, moral. That is to say, salvation thus obtained would be obtained without any culture or development of the moral nature. It would be secured simply by removing the power of attraction, not by increasing the power of resistance. Hence, if such were gospel salvation, we might experience it, and yet be nothing more than moral pigmies

Besides, this method of salvation could not remedy sin as a disease. That is to say, the mental or moral condition produced by many successive acts of sin, could not be removed in this way. Take away temptation, and no more acts of sin will be committed, but the disposition or state of mind produced by previous acts will remain. A thief may be so placed as to see nothing that can create in him the determination to steal; nevertheless, his thieving disposition remains; and give him the opportunity, put temptation before him, and he will resolve to steal as soon as ever. This method of salvation, then, is no *complete* remedy for sin, for it cannot remove sin as a disease, therefore it cannot be the method of the gospel. This we know, not only from this fact, but also from the fact that Christ was saved from sin, though he was surely not free from temptation.

What, then, is the method of the gospel? Clearly, it is the second method we have indicated. The gospel seeks not to remove temptation, at least, directly, but to remove the moral weakness. It directly assails the moral condition which makes sin possible. It applies its remedy at the other end of the sinful process. It begins its work in the soul; it essays to develop, train and strengthen the moral nature; it aims to increase and make efficient the power of resistance; it does not aim to remove temptation, but to give us the victory over it.

Christ begins his work in the very heart and core of our be-

ing. He puts his truth and love into our souls; he enlightens the conscience and improves the will. Directly he does not attempt to remove our animal desires, nor the means of their gratification; but to so quicken and develop our moral natures that they shall control those desires, and only gratify them in a proper manner and to a legitimate extent. True, he weakens the power of temptation by taking out of it the element of deception. This element constitutes very much of temptation's strength. The tempter, whatever he may be, always seeks to deceive us by promising us some good to be obtained by disobedience; Christ, by teaching us the truth, enables us to see the deception in temptation, and thereby weakens its power over us; but he does this, not directly, but indirectly. He does not aim his blows at the tempter, but he comes in helpful influences to the tempted. He enlightens our minds and opens our eyes, so that we see the tempter as he is. Directly, therefore, his work, even in weakening the power of temptation, is with our souls.

But Christ not only teaches, he inspires. He gives light, but he also imparts life. He not only shows us the right, but he moves us to do the right. In other words, he creates in us a great love for the right, a deep and profound affection for God, who is the essence of goodness and the soul of truth. By presenting to us a God of love, he quickens in our hearts a returning love for God, and this love increases our moral power. Under its influence, the moral faculties unfold and grow strong. By fastening our hearts to God with the strong cords of a powerful affection, Christ, as it were, imparts to our souls the very life and strength of God. God becomes in us a moral force for the development of our moral powers and the salvation of our souls. In fine, Christ's work is to so develop and train our moral natures that we may become like him. Christ is the type of human salvation. We are saved, in the gospel sense, when we are trained into the likeness of Christ. Just to the extent that we have his spirit, temper and moral power, to that extent his salvation is accomplished in us.

Hence the gospel method is perfect. Sin, as an act, it remedies, because it increases the power of resistance, so that temptatation cannot any more entice us from the way of duty. Sin, as a disease, it remedies, because it changes the condition of mind produced by sin, and which constitutes this disease. By developing the moral nature, it removes the mental state created by the successive acts of sin. The thief that is saved from stealing by the gospel, is saved, not only from the act of stealing, but from the disposition to steal. The condition of mind which rendered stealing a habit with him, is removed. In place of his dishonest and thieving one, an honest heart is developed. In place of his diseased condition of mind, the gospel gives a healthy one. In every way, therefore, the gospel method is perfect. All possible forms of sin yield to it.

3. Now let us inquire whether death can remove sin. Is it possible for death to save us from sin? If it is, it must be because it removes temptation, or removes us from the scene of temptation. Death is a physical event, and cannot directly impart any moral power. No one has claimed, so far as we know, that it can. Death, therefore, if it can save from sin at all, must do so by removing temptation. If all temptation inheres in the flesh and the things of the flesh, then the dissolution of the body would be the end of temptation. Or, which amounts to the same thing, if death removes us from a world of temptation to a world in which there is *no* temptation, we shall then be free from it, and of course free from sin.

Does all temptation, then, end at death? We are not prepared to answer this question. We are not convinced that death is the absolute end of temptation. We are inclined, however, quite strongly to the opinion that it is. We are prone to think that a correct analysis will show that all temptation inheres in the flesh and the things of the flesh. The temptation to some of the grosser forms of sin, as those of intemperance and licentiousness, manifestly does, and we are inclined to think that the same is true of the temptation to all other forms. If so, then the death of the body is the end of temptation, and of course the end of sin. No act of sin can

be committed in the spirit world, because there is no temptation there. But it does not follow that the sinful soul, after death, will not need gospel salvation. Allow that death does all that can be claimed for it; allow that it removes all temptation, and thus renders impossible the commission of any more sinful acts, still, it does not follow that the soul thereby has attained unto the salvation of Christ. This is evident from what we have already said. We have shown that the removal of temptation is not a complete and perfect remedy for sin, because it does not affect the moral condition of the soul. We have shown also that the gospel *is* such a remedy, for it effectually changes that condition. In the place of darkness it puts light; in the place of weakness, power. Hence, though death removes temptation and thus puts an end to sin as an *act*, it does not therefore take the place of gospel salvation. The man that is morally weak at death will be just as weak after death. Being now free from temptation he will not sin, but his moral imbecility will remain unchanged. Put him under temptation, and he will sin just as soon as before. And the soul that by a life of sin, or by many successive acts of sin, has created a disposition to sin, or produced that state of mind which is sin as a *disease*, will possess the same disposition or condition after death as before. By removing temptation, death does not affect that condition in the least. Temptation being removed, the man will sin no more, he will do no more *acts* of sin, but the disposition to sin will still exist.

To return to our illustration of the thief: suppose the thief to die with all his thieving inclinations in full strength. Now, in the spirit world he will not continue to steal, for there he will not be tempted to steal, but his thieving disposition will remain. Death, by taking away the temptation, no more removes that disposition than the prison's bolts and bars. Lock a thief in jail and he will not steal; nevertheless, the disposition to steal remains, and turn him out of jail and he will steal, the first opportunity that offers. Take the thief out of the spirit world, and put him back into this world, and he would steal just as soon after death as before.

Hence, whatever death may do for us, it cannot take the place of the gospel. Allow that it does all that can possibly be claimed for it, yet the work of the gospel is needed in each and every case. It is needed, because, as we have seen, the gospel seeks to save the soul by changing its moral condition. It aims to so develop and train the moral nature that sin is no longer possible, because the power within is sufficient to resist temptation. Save the sinner by the gospel method, and you may put him in any world you please, and he will have no desire to sin. Salvation through Christ is such an enlightenment and improvement of the soul as to raise it above temptation and give it the victory over sin.

To Christ, therefore, and not to death, are we to look for salvation. He alone can save us in the moral sense of that term. Only by the power of his death and love can we be raised into his moral likeness. Death can no more give us the spirit and temper of Christ than it can change the relation of our souls to God. The process of moral salvation must ever be the same, *so long as man is man.* Truth for the mind and love for the heart must ever be the agents of their elevation and purification.

ARTICLE IX.

Biographical Sketches.

III. GEORGE RICHARDS.

GEORGE RICHARDS was one of the most prominent and justly respected among our early ministers, and it is an occasion of great regret that the materials for a biography of him are so scanty. This sketch pretends in no sense to be such an account of him, either in respect to ability or character, as he deserves. It is prepared mainly as a preface to some of his letters, which are to be given in succeeding pages.[1] Making

[1] These Letters will appear in the *Quarterly* for July.

no attempt at any elaborate portraiture of the man, it simply brings together the best information now accessible concerning him, that those who read the Letters may read with some idea as to who and what he was.

So far as I am aware, nothing is known of the birth or early life of Mr. Richards. He is first introduced to us as a school teacher of considerable eminence in Boston, preaching occasionally, and having special charge of the pulpit of the First Society, of which he was a member, whenever Mr. Murray did not occupy it.[2] Rev. Noah Parker, the first pastor of the church in Portsmouth, N. H., died in 1787, and Mr. Richards succeeded him in 1793, being released from any further care for the pulpit in Boston by Mr. Murray's removal there. In Portsmouth, he still for several years pursued his profession as a teacher, and yet found time, in addition to this and his pastoral duties, to give much attention to the interests of our early church, as well as to take a distinguished position among the leading members of the Masonic fraternity. He was Clerk of the General Convention in 1793, Moderator in 1800, Clerk in 1801, and Moderator again in 1808. In 1801, he was made one of a Committee to ordain Rev. Thomas Barnes in Poland, Maine. In 1802, he was deputed to present a memorial to the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, who had decided, in a suit of the Congregational Society in Claremont against one Christopher Erskine, that "Congregationalists and Universalists were the same people"—thus compelling the latter to be taxed for the support of the former. He was also associated with the Revs. Zebulon Streeter, Hosea Ballou, Walter Ferris and Zephaniah Lathe, "to form a Plan of Fellowship in faith and practice," which Committee, through Mr. Ferris, reported at Winchester, N. H., in 1803, giving us our "*Winchester Confession*."[3] The fact that Mr. Richards was designated for trusts so important indicates the high place he held in the esteem of his brethren. He remained in Portsmouth until September, 1809, when he removed to Philadel-

[2] Whittemore's Life of Ballou, Vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

[3] See Historical Note on page 152.

phia, to take charge of the Lombard Street Church. Just previous to his removal, he preached the sermon at the dedication of the church edifice in Salem, Mass., on Thursday morning, June 22, and took part, in the afternoon, in the installation of Rev. Edward Turner as Pastor of the society, reading the Call and Acceptance, presenting the Scriptures,[4] and giving the Right Hand of Fellowship. In 1811, the *Free Mason's Magazine* was established in Philadelphia, with Mr. Richards as editor. But his removal to Philadelphia proved in every way untoward. From the first, his residence there seems to have been attended with much to annoy and excite him; and at length, as appears from a *History of Universalism in Philadelphia*, soon to be published by Rev. A. C. Thomas, these difficulties, financial and others, resulted in a withdrawal of some of the leading members of the church and a large portion of the congregation, Mr. Richards going with them as Pastor. A new church was organized, under the name of the Church of the Restitution, and services were held in University Hall, the same place where, in 1782, Elhanan Winchester had preached his famous sermon, *The Outcasts Comforted*, and where, for four years, he and his friends regularly worshipped. Here Mr. Richards continued his labors until the early part of 1814, when the anxieties and perplexities by which he was troubled so wrought upon his highly sensitive and nervous organization, that the balance of his mind was lost. In the sermon which Father Ballou, his successor at Portsmouth, preached concerning his death to the people of his former charge, on the fourth Sunday in March, 1814, immediately after his decease, the following account is given of these closing years:

"The event of his leaving the beloved people of his charge in this town, together with the circumstances which produced it, was a trial far too great for the fortitude of his mind, as manifest marks of a dangerous depression of spirits were no-

[4] The presentation of the Scriptures and the Charge seem, in these early times, to have been two distinct parts, assigned to two persons. Father Murray gave the Charge on this occasion.

ticed. With his new connection in Philadelphia, for a season, appearances were flattering, and his mind seemed to resume its usual force and activity; but owing partly to the secular and partly to the spiritual concerns of that church and congregation, a separation between him and that people was effected. In addition to this painful trial, far from his former friends and among strangers, his wife was pining away with consumption, and he was attacked with a sickness which for some time deprived him of reason, and rendered his recovery doubtful. Of this sickness, however, he so far recovered as to to attend to some trifling business; but his mind never returned to its former sanity. In this trying situation his companion died,—. . the third time . . that he was called to part with a wife. . . He sunk under the load of grief! . . . A fixed insanity took place, which was the means of terminating the natural life of a brother whose memory we have infinite reason for holding precious to our hearts."[5]

He was taken to the Hospital, and there it was that the tragedy ensued which ended in his death by his own hand: a tragedy, indeed, as the close of a life so true and pure.

In personal appearance, Mr. Richards has been described to Rev. A. C. Thomas, one of his several successors at Lombard St., as of little more than the medium height, with large head, florid complexion, and "chunky" form. And this, except as to height, substantially accords with the impression of our esteemed and venerable Father in the faith, Deacon John Bennett, who was married by Mr. Richards, and who, for the long space of sixty-five years, has been an honored member of the Portsmouth parish under *thirteen* different pastorates. He writes me — "To the best of my recollection, Mr. Richards was rather below the medium height, well-proportioned as to thickness, a fair countenance, but not handsome. I think his complexion was rather dark, with dark hair, though on this point I am not certain." Alas, that we have not some fitting likeness of him, and of others of honorable name in our history!

In character, he seems to have been a man of singularly warm and generous nature. His heart was of the largest mould, and

[5] Whittemore's Life of Ballou, vol. i. pp. 401, 402.

his sympathies were very tender and responsive. Father Ballou has left the only formal portraiture of him which I have been able to find, in the sermon to which reference has been made as preached immediately after his decease. The text selected was — "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief" (Isaiah liii. 3), suggesting the trait in which "Mr. Richards most nearly resembled his divine Master." Speaking of the departed, Mr. Ballou said:

"Rev. George Richards was greatly distinguished from men in general by the peculiarity of his natural constitution. Very few are endowed with natural abilities which could compare with his; but the particular quality which contributed to expose him to an uncommon share of sorrow and grief, was an acuteness of sensibility, in which, perhaps, he was never excelled. This caused him to feel in a very sensible manner the afflictions of the afflicted, not only [of] those of his particular belief, or parish, but his compassions extended to all the sons and daughters of distress within his knowledge. His ear was never deaf to the calls of charity. Limited in his personal means, the last shilling was either divided or wholly given; nor could he persuade himself to think this the end of his duty, but frequently assumed the petition for charity, and successfully solicited alms for those whose wants were beyond his ability to relieve. His concern for the needy led him to seek them out, and their obscure dwellings often rejoiced at the approach of his hasty feet. The sick were all of his family. He was nurse and physician. His acquaintance with the nature of disorders, and likewise of their usual remedies, together with his watchful care for the sick, rendered him of incalculable service. So great was his anxiety for the sick, that the most dangerous, the most contagious disorders were never known to deter him. In the house of mourning he was always a mourner; the grief of others was his own. Worshippers were made acquainted with the ardent zeal of their minister for the cause of his divine Master — his great concern for the people of his charge. . . The least disorder in the walk of a brother or sister belonging to his more particular charge gave him the most sensible grief, and even the breath of an unfavorable report would drive sleep from his eyes.[6]

[6] The correctness of this general description is confirmed by the letter of Dea. Bennett, before referred to. Writing under date of Dec. 25, 1871, he says:

"In his parochial connections, our beloved brother may be said to have been unfortunate. Possessed of so tender a mind and such rare sensibility, he needed to be nursed in the warm bosom of faithful and steady friendship, the smallest deviation from which, to his feelings, was like the mote that is not measured by the sight of the eye which it corrodes, but is magnified by the tender feelings of that irritated member." [7]

All this indicates a temperament "subject," as Dr. Whittemore says, "to great vicissitudes of feeling,"[8] and yet points to a character in many respects exceedingly lovable, the very faults and weaknesses of which all "leaned to virtue's side." He was evidently an earnest, unselfish, genial, thoroughly devoted Christian man.

Intellectually, Mr. Richards was fruitful rather than strong, more distinguished for his flow of language and flights of fancy than for the vigor of his conceptions, or the closeness of his logic. His mind had not a little of the poetic element, and seems to have revelled in tropes and figures and redundancies of expression, leading him to string out his statements — often to utter weariness. To say a thing directly and tersely seems never to have occurred to him, — perhaps was something of which he was really incapable. What he could do in the way of verse is shown by the hymns and Masonic Odes which still

"Mr. Richards was a good man. Though not a great sermonizer, he was a most excellent missionary, visiting the poor and sick, the widow and fatherless, and contributing to their relief with advice, and means so far as he could, even to his own detriment. He was a great friend of benevolent institutions. It was said that he was the originator of the Mechanics' Association in this place. When the young of his parish were entering upon business, he made it a particular duty to advise them (myself not excepted) as to how they should manage and conduct themselves."

[7] This is confirmed by allusions — doubtless to his own experience — in his Address to Mr Turner, the Pastor elect, in his Dedication Sermon at Salem. He said:

"And now, my dear sir, warm from this feeling heart, accept the fervent prayers of all my inmost soul, that the spirit of harmony and peace, which at present exists in this Society, may be continued to the end of your days; and continually increasing, may it abound more and more in repeated acts of kindness and liberality to you and yours. May careless inattention on the one hand, or cold neglect on the other, never give a pain to your generous mind, nor imprint a wound, deeper than death, on your manly bosom. May the malignant demon of party spirit never intrude on your peace, nor the unintentional errors of a brother pilgrim descend like a tempest, and beat as 'a vehement wind' on your devoted head."

[8] Life of Ballou, vol. i. p. 398.

survive him ;[9] and his Dedication Sermon at Salem doubtless enables us to form a tolerably accurate judgment not only as to his style, but as to the quality of his thinking and his leading mental characteristics. The sermon is before me as I write,[10] and was manifestly much labored. It is excessively prolix and "high-flown;" abounds in piled-up words and phrases, and is sprinkled with queer conceits and fanciful terms and comparisons; but it is pervaded by a most devout and excellent spirit, and its thought, were it not so encumbered by the verbiage, would sometimes be striking, and here and there, really eloquent. Let a few passages bring the man and his manner before the reader, though it should be mentioned that the sermon "is said to have lost many of its charms

[9] Those desiring to judge of his poetic gifts will find several of his hymns (those numbered 141, 188, 232 and 506 being notable among them) in Streeter's Hymn Book, and one (that numbered 302), in Adams' and Chapin's Book. One of the best of the former (141), a Christmas hymn, is here transcribed:

"Jehovah spake, and Gabriel sped,
Upborne on wings of light;
Celestial glory round him spread,
And changed to day the night.

Swift down to earth the herald flew
From God's eternal throne;
His shining robe, of rainbow hue,
The stars, moon, sun outshone.

The voice of Love was heard on high,
Loud anthems rolled around;
Ten thousand angels left the sky
To chant salvation's sound.

From Zion's hill to worlds above
Re-echoed back the strain,
And golden harps, attuned to love,
Thus swept Ephratah's plain:

He comes! the mighty Saviour comes!
Good-will, peace, joy prevail;
Glad tidings shout, prepare him room;
Hail, glorious Saviour, hail!

Wide o'er the world thy sceptre sway,
Till nations prostrate fall;
Kings, princes, men, thy law obey,
And crown thee Lord of all."

[10] Semi-Centennial Pamphlet of the Salem Church.

in passing throngh the press,"[11] and that "it was to those who heard it like a torrent of

'Linked sweetness long drawn out.'"

"The Mosaic and Solomonian dedications of the sanctuary and the temple, with the dedication of the latter house united thereunto, are three of the most interesting, affecting and solemn feasts ever celebrated on earth; and as the shadows of that superior 'feast which shall be made for all nations' in the Zion of eternal solemnities, they are replete with an abounding fulness of celestial grace, and filled with the exceeding abundance of the brightness of heavenly glory. These three grand festivals of ancient times will afford an ample scope for our best improvement of the present opportunity of assembling within these walls, for the purpose of dedicating this new and elegant edifice to the future solemn, social worship of 'the only wise God, our Saviour,' as manifested in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all, most blessed, forever.

The nature of our subject, thus introduced to the serious attention of this respectable and respected, this friendly and Christian audience, will lead the speaker, in the first place, to consider the feelings of the princes of the twelve tribes of Israel, on the day when they dedicated the Altar, and thereby devoted the sanctuary to the future solemn, social worship of 'the Lord God of their fathers; the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob;' the God of their children and their children's children; for 'this is his name forever, and this is his memorial unto all generations.'

Secondly, we shall attempt to describe the more impassioned feelings of Solomon, of the elders, the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers, and the fulness of the whole congregation of the children of Israel, at that most interesting, solemn and affecting moment, 'when the glory of the Lord filled the House of the Lord, and the trumpeters and singers made but one sound in thanking and praising the Lord,' saying, 'Praise ye the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth forever.'

Third, the feelings of the ransomed of Jehovah of Hosts, returned with joy unspeakable from awful captivity in Babylon to glorious liberty in a land of promise, will claim the last and most distinguished place in our solemnized attentions.

But who, my brethren and my friends, 'is sufficient for these things?' What 'pen of the ready writer' can delineate scenes so august? What 'tongue of the eloquent orator' is

[11] Address of Rev. L. Willis, Semi-Centennial Pamphlet, p. 14.

equal to the mighty task? My fathers, my brethren, your ministering fellow-servant feels the need of all your prayers. O bear the manifold weakness of a brother in the strength of supplication on all your hearts; and ye ministers of my God, pray, O pray for me."

Having treated his subject according to the above outline, he says, "The usual addresses on these interesting, solemn and affecting occasions, entreat immediate attention, and conclude the solemnities of this auspicious morn," and then proceeds separately to address the members of the Society, the Pastor elect, Father Murray, and the members of the Council. The last two addresses here follow:

MY FATHER! MY FATHER! THE PRESIDING ELDER OF THIS COUNCIL; the chariot of our Israel and the horseman thereof! Indulge a son, who hath served with you in the Gospel for seven years, to rejoice on your behalf, no less than in behalf of the Churches, that it hath pleased 'the one Shepherd of the fold' to continue your much needed and highly useful life to this late day, the day of 'the Feast of Dedication,' with the day of Installation united thereto; a day in which the hoary head of venerable old age is given to 'see the travail of his soul' in the morning of his strength; to behold the faithful zeal of the meridian of his life crowned, as with a crown of earthly rejoicing, before the rising of the sun of eternity points to a crown of heavenly glory. It hath been your high honor, your distinguished felicity, venerable sir, to go forth unto three score years and ten, 'bearing precious seed,' even 'the seed of the woman,' 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' The birds of the air have followed close on your furrows, and the enemy hath not failed to sow tares among the wheat. But blessed, forever blessed be the God of the full harvest in glory, these very birds have scattered the seed which they swallowed to destroy; and the enemy, instead of changing wheat into tares, is feeding on the dust of his own chaff. The joyous solemnities of this happy hour, the still more joyous that we anticipate on this afternoon, must be grateful to all the feelings of your soul; and methinks I hear the language of good old Simeon breathing the transports of your gladdened heart, most fervently, most thankfully saying, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;' for 'God is known in Judah, his name is great in Israel; in Salem also is his tabernacle; and there

shall the more glorious and excellent than the mountains of prey break the arrows of the bow, the shield, the sword and the battle. Selah!' But, better as it is for the faithful servant of Jesus 'to depart and be with Christ,' your brethren, your sons, your children account it more needful for them, more needful for all, that you abide yet in the valley for many days; and in all the fervency of heartfelt prayer, we fervently pray that the chariot of death may be long in coming; and the wheels of the chariot of salvation pause for a length of useful and happy years, on Zion's hallowed hill. And O, whensoever it moves on at divine command, may you rise on the pinions of faith, as the Angel uprose in the flames of the altar from the rock of Manoah, and speed your joyous flight to realms of everlasting day, eternal life and never-ending bliss!

BELOVED BRETHREN OF THIS ASSEMBLED COUNCIL, convened for the two-fold purpose of Dedicating this House, and for the Installation of the well-beloved Minister elect! Permit a brother and a friend to breathe the unfeigned gratitude of his heart unto God, that he hath been united with you, and that you have been united with him, in the joyous solemnities of this auspicious day — a day which includes as it were the blessings of the nether and the upper springs united together in 'the feast of Dedication', succeeded by that superior feast, in which we are invited to partake of still superior dainties than have been set before you this morning; for I am verily persuaded, from the known and approved talents of those brethren who shall lead in Prayers, follow with Sermon, and give the Charge, that all those who may attend on this afternoon will have abundant cause to say, 'Thou, O Lord, hast kept that which is good until now.'

The most solemn part of my duty remains unfulfilled as yet — the most interesting possible to all my feelings, the most affecting to the heart of your brother, companion and friend: and that is, to return the sincerest thanks of your unworthy fellow-servant to the kind acceptance of the General Convention of the Universal Churches of the New England States, for the many tokens of esteem, affection and love wherewith the many members of that one body have been pleased to honor their affectionate brother and devoted servant, by repeatedly electing him as their Presiding Elder, in Annual General Session, whether convened in Massachusetts, New Hampshire or Vermont, — a sacred and solemn trust, which the love of my beloved brethren re-committed to me on the last year, as a new proof of undiminished confidence and respect, and which your

grateful friend and brother begs leave most respectfully to return to the hands of the General Convention, preparing to assemble at Barnard, Vt., through the medium of those beloved brethren who are now present; and when you, my friends, shall feelingly perform this painful duty for an absent brother, and in my name, bid the General Convention a tender, pathetic affectionate farewell, be ye pleased to present therewith the fervent prayers of all my soul, that the head of every individual member may be 'anointed with renewed anointings of the joy of the salvation of God;' that the heart of every brother may be refreshed as with 'living streams from the waters of the river of life eternal;' that the spirits of the brethren may drink deeper and deeper into the depths of the ocean of unchanging love, 'the love of God, which surpasseth all understanding;' and may the blessings wherewith the General Convention shall be blessed of Jesus, 'exceed the blessings of their progenitors, and prevail above the blessings of their fathers, to the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.' And O, may 'the precious things brought forth by the sun and the moon, the precious things of the earth and the fulness thereof, with the good-will of him who dwelt in the burning bush,' be the riches of your inheritance in this world, and in that which is to come; and may the 'everlasting arms of the everlasting father' be round about you in life, and 'the eternal God be your eternal refuge' in the hour of death, in the morn of the resurrection and the day of assembled worlds. Amen. So be it, Lord. Amen."

What one with such a style of composition would be likely to be as to manner in the pulpit, may be easily inferred. He is described as "a very animating preacher, . . active in gesticulation;"[12] and so high-strung and impetuous as he was, we can readily imagine how vehemently, with flushed face and feeling all aglow, he would pour out the inexhaustible cataract of his volubility, and despite a wordiness that would have been to the last degree tiresome in a cooler preacher, stir and excite an audience to great enthusiasm. There is something magnetic, and therefore contagious, in the warmth and earnestness of a man thoroughly sincere. Somebody has said that three things are necessary to make an orator — action, ac-

[12] Life of Ballou, p. 303.

tion, action; and the whole history of public speaking shows that if one has but the needed action, and speaks with fluency and force, though his matter may be thin and his words excessive, he will move his hearers. Mr. Richards had abundance of energetic action, and probably never hesitated for a word. As the consequence, he ranked among the most popular preachers of his time. With what power he sometimes spoke is illustrated in the effect said to have been produced by his sermon at the Salem Dedication, especially by his address to Father Murray. One reading the address sees in it little but words, warm with the emotions of a fervent heart, and yet tradition reports that it wondrously thrilled and stirred all who heard it. Dr. Whittemore, describing the occasion, says:

"Murray watched him closely, with a tearful eye. The fact that Mr. Richards was about to remove to Philadelphia, away from dear New England, his home — to leave his dear ministering brethren, whom he had so often met in Convention, to see them, perhaps, no more — gave a touch of sadness to the otherwise joyful scene. As he drew towards the end of the discourse, which was very long, he turned round to Father Murray, seized his hand, and cried out, in the language of Elisha to the ascending Elijah, 'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' The salutation was so sudden, and Father Murray's strength had been so much impaired by age and sickness, that he shook with emotion while the speaker continued his very rapturous address."

Among all our pioneers, none excelled Mr. Richards in his zeal for our struggling cause. He was eminently a broad-viewed, public-spirited man. Not content with a sedulous care for its interests in the field of his immediate labors, he made all that related to the progress and welfare of Universalism anywhere his personal concern. One of the most determined apostles of order and organization in that early time, wherever there was opportunity to bring our scattered believers into closer relations and more effective coöperation, he never failed to improve it. He was, from the first, identified with our General Convention, and seems to have been second to no one in his devotion and usefulness in it. Father Ballou

was familiar with all the facts, and in the sermon already cited, speaking of Mr. Richards' services in this particular, he said:

"Relative to our brother's connection with the General Convention, . . of which he has been one of the most distinguished members from its first organization, and the services which he has rendered that body, it is vain for me to attempt an ample detail. His concern for the prosperity and respectability of our order incited him to constant and laborious endeavors to serve its temporal and spiritual interests. His presence at our annual sessions, where he usually presided [13] with honor to himself and pleasure to his brethren, was ever esteemed a happy circumstance, which never failed of its salutary consequences. On those occasions, his sermons were labored productions of learned and luminous arguments, calculated to convince the unbeliever, to establish the wavering, and to edify and comfort believers. His remarkable faculty and singular success in obtaining general information, by epistolary correspondence, of the spread of the Abrahamic faith in various parts, and the appropriate means which he employed for the connecting together the scattered members of the one body, will long be appreciated by his brethren, and serve to perpetuate his memory among them."

And that this estimate of Mr. Richards' fidelity and various services was shared by all his associates, as well as that he held a high place in their affectionate regard and esteem, is shown by the action of the Convention, in session at Barnard,

[13] It seems probable from this statement, taken in connection with Mr. Richards' own allusion, in his farewell address at Salem, to his having been "repeatedly" elected to this office, "whether in Massachusetts, New Hampshire or Vermont," that he was Moderator of the Convention several years, of which we have no record. Dr. Whittemore (*Mod. History*) mentions but two years (1800 and 1808) when he was Moderator; but after the first gathering looking towards a Convention, in 1785, presided over by Elhanan Winchester, nothing is known of the organization of the Convention, till 1793, when John Murray was Moderator, and of two years subsequent to this (1798 and 1806), no records were preserved. It may be Mr. Richards was Moderator some of these unreported years, though the probabilities seem to point to Mr. Murray as most likely to be elected previous to 1793. And yet, Father Ballou's statement that Mr. Richards "usually presided," manifestly requires that he should have presided more than two years, as Mr. R.'s own statement, mentioning three States, indicates that he must have been Moderator at least three times. It is probable that some error was made in transcribing the names of officers in the *Modern History*, or perhaps the Records are at fault.

Vt., in the September following his removal from New England. It was voted

"That the Convention entertain and hold fervent and Christian friendship and fellowship with Bro. George Richards, who has recently removed from Portsmouth to Philadelphia, and that we request him to accept our sincere thanks for the many services which he has faithfully discharged in the capacity of presiding elder over our body, and in other offices of important trust." [14]

And here our imperfect sketch most fitly closes. It is the life of a thoroughly conscientious and unselfish servant of the cross that we have passed in such summary review. So earnest, so single-hearted, so useful, he was one of those to be always loved. While remembering only to regret that excessive sensibility which so exposed him to be chafed and made unhappy by the slightest causes, rendering him so little fitted for the rough contacts and harsh experiences of the world, and while deeply sorrowing because of the darkness in which his earthly life went out, be it ours to enshrine in our hearts the memory of all his virtues as a man, and all his fidelities as a minister, to the end that we may be profited by that example of fervent zeal, of profound religiousness, and of large-hearted concern for the interests of our whole church, which entitle his name to stand as one of the brightest in our opening history.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

Looking over the papers of the late Rev. Edward Turner, since the foregoing Sketch was concluded, I have read again the chapter in his MS. *History of the Convention*,[15] which gives an account of this case of Erskine, and of the several steps in the action of the Convention, together with the papers which that body sent out in consequence. Deeply interested in them myself, it has seemed to me that it would serve a useful purpose in acquainting the Universalists of this generation with a very important chapter in our history to append here

[14] Modern History, p. 375.

[15] The *fourth* chapter of the *History of Universalism*, which Mr. Turner was one of a Committee to prepare. See *Note*, p. 167, *Quarterly* for April, 1871.

the statement and papers as Mr. Turner had prepared them. They show us something of the difficulties against which our fathers had to contend; very distinctly intimate not only the variety, but the diversity of views and aims in spite of which this essay towards a definite statement of faith and a formal consolidation of our churches was made, and especially reveal the spirit by which those who gave character to the movement were actuated. So far as I know, the Address of the Conventionto the Universalists of New Hampshire has never since been published. I think I cannot be mistaken in feeling that the readers of these pages will thank the *Quarterly* for giving it to them. Dr. Whittemore (*Mod. History*, *p.* 375) says of this Address — "We know not to whose pen to attribute this article, but it is certainly one of the most spirited and reasonable documents in the whole Book of Records." It is particularly interesting and creditable as showing the temper of the leaders of the Convention under circumstances so fitted to inflame and exasperate. It may not be amiss to add that, according to the traditions that survive, Christopher Erskine, whose name was made historical in connection with these events, seems not to have been in all respects precisely the kind of man who would have been chosen to be the respresentative Universalist in such a contest.

But let us have Mr. Turner's chapter. He says:

"Till this period, the Convention had formed no general plan, nor laid down any general rules for its government. The Philadelphia Articles of Faith, which had been previously adopted [these Articles of Faith will shortly be published in the forthcoming *History of Universalism in Philadelphia*, by Rev. A. C. Thomas], were still considered substantially correct; but some circumstances had taken place which led the Convention to draw a new Form, in words that in general were thought to be more expressive of our faith. The occasion was this: In 1802, Christopher Erskine, of Claremont, N. H., was sued for the non-payment [of] Congregational ministerial taxes. He asked counsel of the Convention. It was voted that Bro. George Richards present a memorial to the Honor-

able, the Judges of the Supreme Court, . . and if possible obtain a reconsideration of their decision . . which was that "*Congregationalists and Universalists were the same people.*" The memorial was presented, but produced no beneficial effect. It was therefore concluded to address the State Legislature on the subject, and that all men might see what our religious views were, and what made us a distinct denomination, to set forth our Articles of Belief in clear and definite language. Accordingly, the following Profession of Belief, with the Preamble, was adopted and published:

WHEREAS the diversities of capacity and of opportunity for obtaining information, together with many attendant circumstances, have occasioned among the sincere professors of the Abrahamic faith some diversities of opinion concerning some points of doctrine and modes of practice, we, therefore, think it expedient, in order to prevent confusion and misunderstanding, and to promote the edifying and building up of the Church together in love, to record and publish that Profession of Belief which all agree in as essential, and that plan of ecclesiastical fellowship and general subordination which we as a Christian association conceive we ought to maintain."

[Here follow the three articles usually known as the "*Winchester Confession.*"]

"As we believe these to be truths which deeply concern the honor of the Divine character and the interests of man, we do hereby declare that we continue to consider ourselves, and our societies in fellowship, a Denomination of Christians, distinct and separate from those who do not approve the whole of this Profession of Belief, as expressed in the three above Articles.

And as a distinct denomination, we continue to claim the authority of exercising among ourselves that order, for the glory of God in the good of the church, which Christianity requires.

And we continue to claim the external privileges, which, according to the free Constitution of our country, every denomination of our country is entitled to enjoy.

Yet while we, as an association, adopt a general Profession of Belief and Plan of Church Government, we leave it to the

several Churches and Societies, or to smaller associations of churches if such should be formed, within the limits of our General Association, to continue or adopt within themselves such more particular articles of faith, or modes of discipline, as may appear to them best under their particular circumstances, provided they do not disagree with our general Profession and Plan.

And while we consider that every church possesses within itself all the powers of self-government, we earnestly and affectionately recommend it to every Church, Society, or particular Association, to exercise the spirit of Christian meekness and charity towards those who have different modes of faith and practice, that, when the brethren cannot see alike, they may agree to differ: and let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

To this followed the "Plan of the General Association," providing in successive sections for annual meetings of the Convention; for delegates; for ministerial membership; for the reception of new members; for restricting each Society to one vote "in matters in which the societies represented ought to have equal privileges, such as determining the place of holding the next Convention," etc.; for the order of business, it being herein ordained that the Convention shall "examine into the state of particular Societies, Churches, or Associations, on due representation," and to "*look over the conduct* of the members of the Association, especially those who labor in word and doctrine;" for ordination; for discipline; for the withdrawal of membership; and for amendments. As showing how watchful these fathers were as to character, it may be well to give Section viii., which provided that

"The General Association and particular Associations and churches, in all cases, are required to look for those qualifications in their officers which the Scriptures of the New Testament have made requisite, particularly Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, and I Tim. iii and iv."

It may also be of interest to some to see with what understanding as to change, or amendment, the Profession and Plan were adopted. Section X. provided that

"The Association reserves to itself, under the direction of that Divine Wisdom which was to accompany the followers of Christ to the end of the world, the right of making hereafter such alterations of this General Plan of the Association as circumstances may require. But there is no alteration of any part of the three Articles that contain the Profession of our Belief ever to be made at any future period."

Then followed this subscription:

"By the General Convention of the Universalist churches and Societies,

The above and all and every part thereof, having been deliberately read, maturely considered and seriously investigated, was accepted of and passed by the unanimous vote of all present."

The historian then proceeds:

"The case of Brother Christopher Erskine, before mentioned, had a threatening aspect upon the religious liberties and constitutional privileges of our brethren in New Hampshire, and by this time had produced considerable agitation. If a decision that 'Congregationalists and Universalists were the same people,' were to obtain the sanction of established law and the name of public justice, it is evident that our brethren must forever be debarred from those privileges and the exercise of those rights which belong to all Christians by the law of Christ and [which] have ever been supposed to be recognized by our State Constitutions. Nor were other denominations any more secure. The Baptists or Methodists might come under the application of the same rule, and be identified with Congregationalists. It is highly probable, if not certain, that this measure and the alarm which it occasioned among our brethren, and which extended to other denominations, led them all to make it a common cause, and finally had a powerful influence in procuring an Act, securing religious freedom and the rights of conscience to Christians of every sect. But before this was done, the excitement was so powerful and the agitation so great, that it was thought proper to forward an Address to the brethren in New Hampshire, the

objects of which will most plainly appear from the Address itself, which is here inserted:

"*To the individual members of the body of Universalists in the State of New Hampshire, occasioned by the decision of the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of said State, adjudging the payment of ministerial taxes to Congregational Ministers:*

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN;

It hath been represented to the General Convention of the Universalist churches and societies of the New England States, that their brethren who reside in the State of New Hampshire are liable to be sued for the payment of ministerial taxes assessed in the first instance, and collected in the second, for the support and maintenance of the ministers of the Congregational order. And as it becometh us to watch over the temporal no less than the spiritual interests of the many members of the same body, by offering that fraternal and friendly advice which may guide our brethren in peace through the midst of dangers and difficulties, and bring them beyond the tempest and the storm to the haven of desired rest, we therefore entreat your kind permission to sympathize in the tenderness of sympathy with the immediate sufferers, and in much meekness and abundant love we beseech your candid attention to the faithful word of brotherly love.

That the judgment of the Honorable, the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in the case of the town of Claremont against Brother Christopher Erskine, hath opened a wide and effectual door for the Congregational ministerial taxes at the hands of all the Universalists in the interior of New Hampshire; that the spirit of their late judical decisions hath blotted the whole body of professing members in the country towns from the volume of legal existence, taken away the inestimable privilege of adducing evidence to prove that such a sect has any religious being, denied the right of trial to professed subjects by a jury of their lawful jurors, and subjected the property of unoffending thousands to the absolute control of the Bench, are serious, solemn and awful truths which no man presumes either to dispute or deny; and that the consequences resulting therefrom will most probably terminate in multiplied vexatious law-suits, in harsh distrainments on valuable real or personal estate, in severe executions levied with the tender mercies of the wicked, and in final close

"The Association reserves to itself, under the direction of that Divine Wisdom which was to accompany the followers of Christ to the end of the world, the right of making hereafter such alterations of this General Plan of the Association as circumstances may require. But there is no alteration of any part of the three Articles that contain the Profession of our Belief ever to be made at any future period."

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The above and all and every part thereof, having been deliberately read, maturely considered and seriously investigated, was accepted of and passed by the unanimous vote of all present."

The historian then proceeds:

"The case of Brother Christopher Erskine, before mentioned, had a threatening aspect upon the religious liberties and constitutional privileges of our brethren in New Hampshire, and by this time had produced considerable agitation. If a decision that 'Congregationalists and Universalists were the same people,' were to obtain the sanction of established law and the name of public justice, it is evident that our brethren must forever be debarred from those privileges and the exercise of those rights which belong to all Christians by the law of Christ and [which] have ever been supposed to be recognized by our State Constitutions. Nor were other denominations any more secure. The Baptists or Methodists might come under the application of the same rule, and be identified with Congregationalists. It is highly probable, if not certain, that this measure and the alarm which it occasioned among our brethren, and which extended to other denominations, led them all to make it a common cause, and finally had a powerful influence in procuring an Act, securing religious freedom and the rights of conscience to Christians of every sect. But before this was done, the excitement was so powerful and the agitation so great, that it was thought proper to forward an Address to the brethren in New Hampshire, the

objects of which will most plainly appear from the Address itself, which is here inserted:

"*To the individual members of the body of Universalists in the State of New Hampshire, occasioned by the decision of the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of said State, adjudging the payment of ministerial taxes to Congregational Ministers:*

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN;

It hath been represented to the General Convention of the Universalist churches and societies of the New England States, that their brethren who reside in the State of New Hampshire are liable to be sued for the payment of ministerial taxes assessed in the first instance, and collected in the second, for the support and maintenance of the ministers of the Congregational order. And as it becometh us to watch over the temporal no less than the spiritual interests of the many members of the same body, by offering that fraternal and friendly advice which may guide our brethren in peace through the midst of dangers and difficulties, and bring them beyond the tempest and the storm to the haven of desired rest, we therefore entreat your kind permission to sympathize in the tenderness of sympathy with the immediate sufferers, and in much meekness and abundant love we beseech your candid attention to the faithful word of brotherly love.

That the judgment of the Honorable, the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in the case of the town of Claremont against Brother Christopher Erskine, hath opened a wide and effectual door for the Congregational ministerial taxes at the hands of all the Universalists in the interior of New Hampshire; that the spirit of their late judical decisions hath blotted the whole body of professing members in the country towns from the volume of legal existence, taken away the inestimable privilege of adducing evidence to prove that such a sect has any religious being, denied the right of trial to professed subjects by a jury of their lawful jurors, and subjected the property of unoffending thousands to the absolute control of the Bench, are serious, solemn and awful truths which no man presumes either to dispute or deny; and that the consequences resulting therefrom will most probably terminate in multiplied vexatious law-suits, in harsh distrainments on valuable real or personal estate, in severe executions levied with the tender mercies of the wicked, and in final close

commitments to damp and unwholesome prisons, are events that we seriously anticipate in rapidly advancing prospect, by a present recurrence to real facts that have lately taken place.

Brethren, behold the dangers which threaten; they are described with faithfulness and zeal. Survey the gathering storm; it is pictured with words of soberness and truth. And will you seek a shelter from the tempest by taking refuge under the wings of any other society than that to which you are conscientiously attached? Will you attempt to save the mammon of this world by a denial of your hope in that which is to come? Will you apply for exemption from a church who [which] certifies to faith that was never believed, as the Pope sells pardons for sins which he cannot forgive? Will you make any compact with Belial, to shun the reproach of the name of Christ? Will you bow the knee in the house of Rimmon and expect the Lord to pardon the deceit? Will you worship the golden image in the high places of clerical pride, or manfully refuse to fall down and adore? Will you say, as others have said, that Congregationalists and Universalists are one and the same religious sect? Will you acknowledge that you are not a distinct denomination from them who are most bitterly opposed to you? Will you affirm that there is no difference in your systems of faith, when one builds on the foundation of human works, and one on the Rock of eternal ages? when one believes that Jesus is the Saviour of all men, and the other thinks that some men save themselves? when one triumphs in the persuasion that sin shall cease to be, and the other affirms that it shall exist forever? when one rejoices that death shall be no more, and the other is well pleased that it shall never die? when one anticipates the restitution of all the families of the earth, and the other looks forward to the endless reign of sin, of Satan and of misery? when one believes [in] the final happiness of all the sons of Adam, and the other [in] the eternal woe of half the race of man? These are distinguishing marks. These are dividing lines. They are known to your enemies; they are confessed by your friends. Suffer us, therefore, to beseech that you will not meanly temporize; that you will not make a compact with iniquity and deny the Lord who hath bought you. It is true that a steadfastness in the faith, without wavering, will unavoidably subject you to a momentary loss of worldly goods; but remember him who hath said that in heaven ye have a better and more enduring substance. Blessed be God that you are not called upon to endure cruel trials of mockings and scourgings; to wander about in sheep-

skins and goat-skins, destitute, tormented and afflicted; to hide yourselves in dens, in mountains and in caverns of the earth. The genius of that religion which seizes your property is forbidden, as Satan, its father, was, to touch your lives. Be ye thankful for this, and take those for your pattern who counted not even life dear.

In the manner and mode of attachment, distraint, judgment and execution, you must expect to encounter many unpleasant things, many unkind words, and many unkind deeds. But we beseech you that ye act as the disciples of the Lord, who, when he was reviled, reviled not again. And above all things, we charge and command you, in the name of the Lord, and by the example of our God, that ye resist not evil with violence; that you avoid hasty and bitter expressions against the powers that have ordained you to suffer; that you watch over, in yourselves and in others, all rashness of deed; that you lift no voice, nor head, nor arm against the legally constituted authorities of the State of New Hampshire; that you study peace, seek for and pursue it, and rather suffer wrong than do wrong in thought, in word, or in act. Be warned, we beseech you, of this — that there are designing and unfriendly spirits, who wish to drive you to resistance; who wish even to arm you against them that oppress you. But, dear brethren, can these be your friends? O, no! They are seeking for advantages whereby ye may fall forever. They are laying snares of deceit to catch your unwary feet. Give them no advantages by your own imprudence. Be calm in all things; keep the rising passions down, and let the real Christian spirit reign in all meekness and humility. Be faithful even unto death, if need be, for Jesus' sake, but forbear the infliction of those wounds that you may receive. Suffer your property to vanish in the flames of law; but kindle no unhallowed fires of yourselves. The waters of charity, forbearance and patience may become your temporal salvation.

Rest assured, dear brethren, that the General Convention of the Universalist Churches of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont, united with those of New Hampshire, consider your private wrongs a common, public cause. Be persuaded that they are feelingly alive to all your interests. Receive their solemn assurance that they will neither leave nor forsake you. Much is expected from a cool, dispassionate appeal to the Legislature of New Hampshire. This effort is directed to be made at their approaching session. Wait the eventual issue. We cannot, we will not believe that the Con-

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stitution of New Hampshire will be surrendered to the Judges of any Court, and [or] that a tribunal has existence on earth which will finally be allowed to trample the rights of conscience under foot. We are confident that relief will at last come, in the powerful energy of just and righteous law. The cloud beneath which you now are is not a cloud of thick darkness. All denominations must read it as charged with death to every name except that of the Congregational order, and all denominations, saving one, on principles of self-preservation, will give you their hearts and their hands.

Be comforted, dear brethren; the tempest is but of a moments's duration, and it will be followed by a far more exceeding weight of glory. Meekness, mildness, forbearance, respect for the constituted authorities of the State, and abstinence from hastiness of speech and rashness of deed, are the great things on which, under the smiles of heaven, you are earnestly entreated to place your firmest, fullest, best reliance; and may the Lord give you wisdom, prudence and sound discretion, and unite therewith the spirit of Christian patience and the soul of Christian peace. Brethren, we commend you to God, and bid you an affectionate farewell."

The drafting and passing the above solemn, pathetic and monitory Address were the closing acts of the Convention of 1803. We feel a conviction that this document will be considered as a united testimony of the sober feelings of the body that composed it; of their firmness as men, in contending for their inalienable rights, and of their temper as Christians, in inculcating submission to legal authority till a redress of grievances could be obtained in a constitutional way. We have reason to believe that it was not without use in allaying the agitation which the case of Mr. Erskine had produced. The Legislature of New Hampshire shortly after passed an Act, securing the rights of conscience and giving every denomination the privilege of worshipping and giving their support in the manner, and to whom, they best pleased."

The preceding chapter from Mr. Turner shows the understanding touching any "alteration," with which the "Profession of Belief" was adopted; and as it has been widely

represented, and is, perhaps, honestly believed by some, that an attempt to "alter" this profession was really made by the Convention at Baltimore in 1867, it is only proper, as a further chapter in its history, that, as one of the Committee who reported the famous "*Baltimore Declaration*," I should here give the facts.

The Committee on the State of the Church, referring to the claim to our fellowship made on the ground of an alleged assent to the "*Winchester Confession*," by some persons *who were known to deny the authority of the Scriptures and the Lordship of Jesus Christ*, recommended "that the following Resolution be adopted as an interpretation of the Confession, and incorporated as an amendment into the Constitution of this Convention:

Resolved, That in order for one to become a Christian minister, or a member of a Universalist Church, he or she shall believe in the Bible account of the life, teachings, miracles, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ; and any interpretation of the Winchester Confession of Faith that makes it compatible with a denial of that account is a false one."

This recommendation was referred to a Committee, consisting of Rev. Dolphus Skinner, D. D., H. E. Busch, Esq., and the writer. Several other matters of importance were also given to this Committee. They were appointed on Tuesday evening, under instructions to report the following afternoon, and business of interest was before the Convention, requiring their attendance during a portion of the forenoon. These things are mentioned to indicate how much time they had at their command. The Resolution, and with it, the whole subject, was nevertheless carefully considered. But the Report was, of necessity, hastily drawn up. It was submitted by myself as Chairman, as follows:

"We agree with the Committee in thinking it important to have it understood that, as a denomination, we occupy no equivocal position in respect to the Scriptures and the Divine Authority of Christ. At the same time, we think it undesirable, except upon urgent necessity, to begin to amend the

Constitution so soon after its adoption. The object can be as well secured by a Declaration, setting forth the meaning of the Fathers, and affirming that the *Confession* is really adopted by those only who accept it with this meaning. We recommend, therefore, the adoption of the subjoined Declaration, and that it be sent to the several State Conventions for their guidance:

DECLARATION.

In framing the Winchester Confession, it was the evident intention of our denominational fathers to affirm the Divine Authority of the Scriptures and the Lordship of Jesus Christ; and in the judgment of this Convention, only those comply with the prescribed conditions of Fellowship who accept the *Confession* with this interpretation."

This is no place to debate the wisdom or propriety of this action. Only its history is here pertinent. But this history would not be complete should it fail to be added that neither the Committee, nor the Convention (which adopted the Report, "after a long and earnest debate, by a yea and nay vote of forty-nine to one") had any intention, nor the remotest wish, to "alter" the *Confession*. It is simply dishonest to intimate any such imputation. On the contrary, the Committee would themselves have opposed any "alteration of any part of the three Articles," or any attempt to abridge the largest liberty of thought by setting forth any binding "interpretation" even, beyond a statement of the undisputed "intention of our fathers" on the fundamental points referred to. But it was unquestionable that the *Confession* was written "to affirm the Divine authority of the Scriptures and the Lordship of Jesus Christ." It was equally unquestionable that one denying what the document was written expressly to affirm could not in good faith assent to it, nor honestly ask or accept fellowship upon it. For these reasons, and because there were those affecting to stand upon it while notoriously denying its cardinal affirmations, the Committee and the Convention thought it but just to our fathers and ourselves to say that no double dealing could be tolerated, and that only those accepted the *Confession* who

honestly accepted its acknowledged meaning. The action may or may not have been wise, but this was its whole significance. The mistake was in substituting, in the *Declaration*, the word *interpretation* instead of *meaning*, which is the word in the body of the Report. Had it not been for this substitution, and had there been time for a more critical selection of two or three other terms, perhaps, it is believed that the *Declaration* would have commanded general assent, and been opposed only by those wishing to fellowship all applicants, without regard to faith.

ARTICLE X.

Primitive Christianity.

Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions. Discourses delivered in Hopedale, Mass., A. D., 1869–70. By Adin Ballou. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. 1870.

THE Rev. Adin Ballou, not unknown to our Church in the past in connection with the "Restoration" controversy, but not now of our communion, has projected a work upon "Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions." His announcement is: "This is the first of three intended volumes under the same general title. This deals with the department of theological doctrines; the second will treat of personal righteousness, and the third of ecclesiastical polity. The three will make a unitary whole, — a complete exposition of Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions." Pref. P. v. The second and third volumes are promised at an early day. Meanwhile, the present is before the public, for its acceptance or rejection, as a valuable addition to the history of doctrines. Of its acceptance, finally, the author has no doubt. "If the present generation should fail to appreciate it encouragingly, I shall leave the world with a comfortable assurance that future ones will hold it in higher estimation." Pref. P. vi.

The following subjects are considered: The Relationship of of Jesus Christ to God the Father, His real Nature, Dignity, and Authority; Discourses ii–vii. Pp. 16–83. The Nature and Efficacy of the Atonement; Discourses viii–xi. Pp. 83–127. Angelology, Demonology, and Resurrection from the Dead; or, the Doctrine of Spiritual and immortal Existence; Discourses xii–xvii. Pp. 127–199. Regeneration and Salvation; Discourses xviii–xx. Pp. 199–238. Divine Government, Judgment, Retribution and Discipline; Discourses xxi–xxiv. Pp. 238–288. The Final Destiny of Mankind; Discourses xxv–xxviii. Pp. 288–331.

The subjects are sufficiently important. They afford an opportunity for the most thorough research, profound learning, and critical acumen. They are, and must be, of absorbing interest to thoughtful persons. That there has been, not only a development (a progressive unfolding) of Christian truth, but an absolute creation of dogmas, and a very general corruption of important doctrines, cannot be denied. To set in order this development, to array this creation, and to demonstrate this corruption, is a work that greatly needs to be done. But it remains to be done. Even the specific subject, the Corruptions of Christian Doctrines, has not yet been fully and impartially treated, notwithstanding the many valuable contributions to this end already made. Preconceived opinions, educational prejudices, and personal idiosyncrasies, are adverse to the calm, judicious treatment demanded. Hence, the conclusions reached, and presented for acceptance, by, sometimes, men of good powers and attainments, are very often quite unsatisfactory. A fair mastery of ecclesiastical history is a *sine qua non* in the exhibition of the corruptions which doctrines have experienced. Withal, a respectable knowledge of the originals of Holy Scripture, and of the systems of philosophy that have obtained in Christendom, is indispensable. Political changes, governmental policies, peculiarities of race, conditions and limitations of times, &c., have had much to do with corrupting the teachings of the Gospel. We need to know what they were and why they were, in their relations to Christianity.

The work that shall clearly show the corruptions that have obtained, and not be, itself, in some directions, open to the charge of perpetuating the corruptions, or still further corrupting, and that should thus be a standard and a text-book, is yet to be published.

With regard to the work before us, there is no disposition to restrain the commendation which it deserves. As a series of discourses delivered to a congregation, it is not without merit. As a book of sermons, printed as sermons, it would be read with interest, and not, perhaps, without profit. Some of his discourses are almost unexceptionable. The statement can be ventured, however, that the work itself will not be received with satisfaction, nor accepted as a standard by the Universalist Church in America. A good deal of research is manifested on the part of the author, and no little reading upon the general topics treated. Some of his statements are made with discrimination and force. We have found a few of the discourses pleasant reading — it would have been pleasanter, if without such words as "mysterized," "artificialized," "manuscriptural," "understandable," "spiritology," "inspirees," "causation," "superstitionized," "traditionized," &c.

If we do not misjudge, the author writes from a point of view which our Church does not occupy, with which, indeed, it has, as a church, no sympathy whatever. The point of view to which we refer is the, so-called, "spiritualized" philosophy. "Spiritualism" permeates the work, sometimes to an extent uncalled for, and weakening instead of strengthening the purpose in view. For instance, on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, such a passage as the following occurs — although what it means it is difficult to say: "It may be asked, why Christ is represented as sending, breathing, imparting, and baptizing with the Holy Spirit, and the apostles as communicating it by imposition of hands? Answer: Because they themselves were in union with God, filled with this communicable Spirit, and impowered to impart it to others in various portions and degrees. Such seems to be the law of divine order in relation to the communicability of all spiritual magnet-

isms." P. 70. In discourses xii. and xiii., on Spiritual Beings, this "spiritualism" is quite prominent, and colors all the views of the author upon spiritual beings, the spiritual life, and the immortal world. His faith in this direction is something marvellous, and strongly in contrast with his scepticism in other directions. His words are: "There was a period of my life in which I doubted and wavered respecting especially their demonology (the so-called 'demonology' of the New Testament). But psychological magnetism, clairvoyance, and modern spiritualism, whatever contempt many of the learned manifest towards them, and whatever some of their abuses, entirely cured my incipient scepticism." P. 129. That Christ and the apostles recognized the existence of a Satan and of a host of evil spirits, continually tempting men, is Mr. Ballou's strong conviction, repeatedly affirmed and continually assumed. "Mesmerism, psychological magnetism, and clairvoyance, with their strange demonstrations, came to astonish me; then the still more wonderful and multiform spiritualistic phenomena wrought mightily on my convictions; and then I was led to search thoroughly the history of the past, sacred and profane, ancient and continuous, for well attested phenomena. I was satisfied, and now the communication, manifestation and intromissional operation of spirits, as between the spiritual world and our mortal sphere, with respect to both good and evil spiritual beings, is to me as certain a reality as the existence of mankind, though comparatively unfrequent and extraordinary." P. 142.

The attempt to demonstrate this is a total and obvious failure. Nor is the array of Scripture texts to the point. They are all susceptible of an interpretation in harmony with a better and more rational view than that men were possessed or tempted by demoniacal beings. That Christ and the apostles used the popular language of the day, and used the popular superstitions for the inculcation of deep spiritual truth, a careful review of all the facts in the case cannot fail to satisfy. But that they thereby endorsed those superstitions is not to be assumed. It was a common practice of the Saviour, and

indeed of all the sacred personages of the Scriptures, to speak in the common, popular language, with respect to the every day occurrences of life and nature. As well say they endorsed the unscientific significance of that language as that they meant to concede the existence of evil spirits controlling human actions, and inducing disease and death. The Gospel would displace error, often, by the inculcation of truth. It does not specifically meet and controvert every mistake or superstition. These are to be gradually eliminated. The true light will displace all darkness.

As a defender of Christianity against the scepticism of the day, Mr. Ballou will have little success, this work being the witness. Too much is conceded, unwarrantably conceded, at the outset. To dismember the gospels, or in any way to invalidate their testimony, is to subordinate the records, and to leave Christianity without reliable historic basis. It cannot be long, under such conditions, before Christianity itself, in all its divine elements, becomes bereft of its authority as a revelation from God, supernaturally conveyed to the world. The author does not hesitate, notwithstanding much earnest asseveration of Christian faith, to step aside from the gospels, and even to reject whole chapters — chapters, without which, the gospels are shorn of their beauty, of much of their supernatural character, and are left, in their residue, comparitively meaningless and powerless. Of the sources of reliable historic information with respect to Christianity, the gospels and epistles are mentioned. The question is asked, "Can these be relied on?" The answer is, "Not implicitly on all points and details; for they are not absolutely perfect in all respects"! He does indeed admit that "they have never been invalidated beyond a few exceptional portions and minute incidentals." P. 11. But the exceptional portions he mentions are fundamental to the Christian system! They are, specifically, the first and second chapters of Matthew and Luke, which contain the account of the genealogy, conception, birth, infancy, &c., of the Lord Jesus Christ. If these chapters are no part of the sacred records, then the gospels are maimed, for throughout

they are based on the essential supernatural elements contained in those chapters. It is not at all to the point that neither Mark nor John refer specifically to them, since in no respect are they antagonistic, but on the contrary, in complete harmony with their teachings. It is no more to the point that the apostles generally base no argument upon the statements of these chapters. If it were strictly true, it would weigh nothing. But, in fact, they assume the revelation of the miraculous birth, and again and again refer to it; otherwise what they say of Christ, in many instances, is without meaning to the Bible reader. That Christ did not plead his miraculous birth is no proof against it. The fact was known, so far as it could be known. It would have been strange indeed, had Christ gone about talking of it; but in repeated instances he assumed it, in claiming a descent from God in a sense in which none other had descended, and a consequent power and authority such as none other possessed. The verbal differences in Matthew and Luke have been so often noticed, and so often shown as inconsequent to the authority of the records, that no time need be wasted upon them. The broad statement may be made, in the light of present Biblical criticism, that there is no sufficient ground for the rejection of these chapters, nor is there any need for it, unless with a desire to destroy the supernaturalism of Christianity that it may be reduced to a merely natural system. When this is accomplished, however, we have a most unnatural religious scheme — a revelation which is no revelation — a religion with the divine factors left out.

So far as Matthew is in question, with reference to the statement of the author that his Gospel was originally written in Hebrew, and never had the first and second chapters, P. 22, it may be remarked: It is by no means established that this Gospel was originally written in Hebrew. There is a tradition to this effect; but that it is more than a tradition remains to be proved. What is sufficiently attested is, that there was a Hebrew Gospel, corrupted and interpolated by Ebionitic sects. But that Gospel *never* enjoyed canonical au-

thority. Nor is there any evidence, worthy of a moment's notice, that that early Hebrew Gospel was without these chapters. The original of our Matthew (Greek), whether or not a translation, dates from the earliest times, and has been scrupulously preserved. It was from its first appearance received by the Church, and so far as can be shown to the contrary, substantially in its present form, including the chapters in question.

We confess to some surprise at the author's attempt to invalidate the account of Matthew by reference to the age of Jesus as given by Luke. He says: "If in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Jesus was about thirty years of age, according to the third chapter of Luke's Gospel, ancient history proves that Herod the Great must have been dead a considerable time before he was born; which quite invalidates the whole account as given in Matthew." It is to be observed that the record only says that Christ was "about" (ὡσεί) thirty years of age. According to Josephus, Antiq., xvii. vi. 5; viii., Herod the Great died in the *fourth* year before the beginning of our era. See, also, Stanley. Hist. of Jew. Ch. vol. ii., P. 97. Scholars are now generally agreed that the birth of Christ was at least four years earlier than the usually assigned date, which is quite in harmony with the records, and a sufficient answer to any objections.

It would be quite impossible, in the compass of a single article, to review elaborately the work before us, or to critically examine all the statements of the author. Attention must be called, however, to the remarkable method of taking a text, parpahrasing it without regard to a critical rendering, and then entirely ignoring it in its bearings upon the subject matter of the discourse which it precedes. Discourse v., p. 48, is headed with the passage John i. 14, rendered as follows: "And the Word (*Logos*) was made flesh (literally, fleshed with a human body) and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." The text *is:* "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth." The words

ὁ Λόγος σαρξ ἐγένετο are, literally, *became*, or was *born incarnate*. They point in two directions, and were doubtless meant to do so by the inspired writer, viz., against the *Docetæ*, who denied the human nature of Christ, and against the *Ebionites*, who affirmed him to be *only* the son of Joseph and Mary. They are closely connected with the tenth verse — "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not." So he became man; but he was more than man. Nor could the glory of his divine nature be hidden. "We beheld," the evangelist says, "his glory." "We contemplate with admiration" — *ἐθεασάμεθα* — "his glory." They saw a glory that could only be of an "ONLY begotten Son of God." He was Son of God, as well as Son of man. So far as revelation goes, we are unable to believe otherwise than that the *Logos* was a divine existence — not "spirit," nor "reason," nor "breath," nor "word" — the "first begotten" of God, "became incarnate" for the work of redemption.

Equal liberties are taken with other passages. As, on page 95: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee (that is, in design or purpose) before the world was." "In design or purpose"! By what possible right is such a paraphrase offered? On what principle of exegesis can it be warranted? Christ certainly asserted a glory *with God* — *παρά σοί* — *before* the world (*κόσμος*) *was*. It was a glory that he *personally* enjoyed, and for a renewal or resumption of which he now prayed, in view of his near death upon the cross. Again, page 38: "Who being in the form of God (as to the dignity of his Christly office) thought it not robbery to be equal with God (more correctly, *like* God, as to personal authority,) but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." We would render *μορφῇ Θεοῦ*, "the similitude of the nature of God" (like God, as *the* Son of God.) Having thus a divine glory with God originally, he "made himself of no reputation." That is, he *emptied* himself, or laid aside —

ἐκένωσεν — that glory for the work he was to accomplish, and to accomplish which he became man.

We can only take time, further, to entirely dissent from Mr. Ballou's view of the nature of the Holy Ghost, and of a future general judgment after death. Of such a judgment he speaks on page 247. The Universalist Church rejects it, on what seems to us more conclusive evidence from the Holy Scriptures. The doctrine of the Holy Ghost, advanced in the sixth Discourse, p. 61, is, as we understand the record, wholly untenable. It is difficult to know just what Mr. Ballou means by the Holy Spirit. He speaks of "that spirit — not the element called the Holy Spirit." P. 63. Again he speaks of it as an "evolved element, a portion of the divine essence made communicable to the finite soul;" and of this he says, "every conceivable portion of the infinite divine essence contains the attributes, properties, and qualities of the whole, and is a limited representation of the whole. Therefore, if God himself possesses personality, so must every communicable portion of His Spirit, in some demonstrative degree." P. 65. Again: "It is virtually God within them" (men), "inspiring, enlightening, teaching, guiding and sanctifying them. In this view, the Holy Spirit is practically a mental and moral person, unto whomsoever manifested, as really in degree as God is in his infinity." If this means anything, it would seem to mean that the Holy Spirit is an elemental portion of God's essence personified! But, if "every conceivable portion of the infinite divine essence contains the attributes, properties and qualities of the whole, and is a limited representation of the whole," then the Holy Spirit is God — only, in a limited degree.

As a whole, and as designed in behalf of Christianity, to exhibit the corruptions of theology, and to present Christian truth, this volume is one of the most unsatisfactory we have ever examined.

ARTICLE XI.

Biblical Usage of Ζωή and Ψυχή.

WORDS often change their meaning in the course of years, so that they convey ideas to modern readers very different from those which they conveyed to the readers of a former age; and unless pains are taken to ascertain the former meaning, the modern reader may find doctrines taught or opinions expressed which never came into the mind of the writer: and the more important the writing is, the more necessary does a careful examination of the former use and meaning of the words become. The Bible furnishes several examples of words which have changed their meaning since the translation in common use was made; and the reader is therefore liable to be either greatly perplexed or to misapprehend the meaning altogether. The word *prevent* furnishes an example. Its former meaning was to go before, or to be before; now it means to hinder. The Psalmist would have his morning prayer prevent the Lord, which may seem to indicate a singular fancy; but when we understand him as saying that he would present his morning petition before the Lord, as King, was ready to give audience to any one, his language is beautifully fitted to express his zeal in the divine worship.

But probably no word used in the Bible is liable, by change of meaning, to lead one into greater error than the word *Soul*. It is not only an important word, but a meaning is often attached to it now which it rarely had in early times. The inquirer after truth may read carefully, with unprejudiced mind, but in consequence of attaching a wrong meaning to this word, he may think a doctrine is plainly taught by inspired men which they would repudiate as grossest error. Hence the necessity of a careful examination into the meaning of words which are supposed to teach important doctrines, that we fall not into error.

The word *soul* is often, or generally used now to denote the immaterial and immortal part of man; and metaphysical

writers use it to denote the higher nature of man, that part which has an existence independent of the body. Psychology, the science of the soul, investigates the facts of consciousness. Such being the common use and meaning of soul, at the present time, it is not strange that the same or a similar meaning should often be attached to it when found in the Scriptures, and so a doctrine be foisted into the Bible which inspiration never taught. Many a passage may be quoted in support of a position, with seeming appositeness, which may really not favor in the least the doctrine which it is supposed to affirm.

The words *Ζωή*, *Zoe*, and *Ψυχή*, *Psuke*, occuring frequently in the Bible, and often translated by the same word *life*, it becomes necessary to notice carefully their use and meaning, that it may be apparent in what respects they differ from each other. The primitive meaning of *ψυχή*, as used in the Bible, is evidently animal life, or the principle of life which man has in common with the brute creation. When God formed man out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul, the meaning is that he thus became possessed of animal life. This is evident from a preceding statement, from which we learn that God said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature (*living soul*) after his kind, cattle and creeping things, and beast of the earth after his kind." Gen. i. 24. From this we learn that man has no preëminence over the beasts in consequence of having or being a human soul; for anything which possesses animal life is called a living soul, though the humblest and meanest of created things. In this sense *ψυχή*, is equivalent to the Latin *anima*, which denotes the vital principle. "The mind, *animus*, is that by which we understand; the soul, *anima*, is that by which we live." "The soul, *anima*, is the pure animal principle of life; the mind, *animus*, is the spiritual, reasoning, willing principle of life."

Psuke also denotes life itself, life in the abstract, but not including the idea of time, of continuous existence. A few only of the numerous examples of this use of the word can be cited here. Jesus encouraged the exercise of trust in Providence,

saying "Take no thought for your life, (*soul*) what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life (*soul*) more than meat, and the body than raiment?" Matt. vi. 25. "The Son of man came to give his life (*soul*) a ransom for many." Math. xx. 28. "Is it lawful on the Sabbath day to save life (*the soul*) or to destroy it?" Luke vi. 9. St. Paul says, "I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading of the ship, but also of our lives (*souls.*) But now I expect you to be of good cheer; for there shall be no loss of any man's life (*soul*) among you." Acts xxvii. 22. The use of ψυχή with this meaning is very common. In certain passages there is seemingly a use of the word which conceals the meaning to many persons; as when Jesus says, "He that loveth his life (*soul*) shall lose it; and he that hateth his life (*soul*) in this world shall keep it unto eternal life." John xii. 25. The life that is loved and lost, hated and kept, denotes something widely different from the "eternal life" which might be attained by faith and obedience. This denotes a moral and spiritual state in the gospel dispensation, in which the disciples should enjoy the life which they ran the risk of losing by being faithful to Christ in time of peril.

The transition of meaning is easy from life to the person or being possessing life. Hence soul often means the man himself, as a being possessed of animal life. The Sadducees, who believed in no future life, could designate man by this word with as much propriety as the Pharisees, who believed in a future life. When we read that sixty-six souls went down into Egypt, and that three thousand souls were added to the church in a day, we understand that men and women are meant who might be called souls, though death should be the extinction of their being. The examples of this use of the word are very numerous. When the Psalmist calls upon his soul to praise the Lord, it is a call upon himself to praise God; and when the man who doated on his possessions said, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store, eat, drink, and be merry, he was talking to himself.

At death a change takes place, the inanimate body remaining behind, and the ghost or shade taking its departure to an unknown world, supposed to be beneath the surface of the earth. The shades were unsubstantial, shadowy likenesses of living men, and dwelt in the underworld, where nothing was done, or suffered, or enjoyed. As the man when living was called a soul, so his body, when life had departed, was called a soul; not a living, but a dead soul. Moses commanded that none be defiled for the dead (*souls*) among his people. Lev. xxi. 1. We are told that certain men were defiled by the dead body (*soul*) of a man, and were therefore forbidden to keep the passover. But as this was a national festival, the observance of which was necessary to keep alive the spirit of patriotism, Moses was directed to say to the people, "If any man of you, or your posterity, shall be unclean by reason of a dead body (*soul,*) or be on a journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto the Lord." Num. ix. 6, 10. In some instances we find the word used to designate both a living man and a corpse in the same sentence, as when Moses says, "Whosoever toucheth the dead body (*soul*) of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel." Num. xix. 13. A living soul defileth the tabernacle of the Lord by touching a dead soul.

The body is the visible, substantial part of man, yet it is manifest that the body is not the whole of the man. The invisible part of man, or the invisible man, as has been mentioned, was conceived of as existing in the form of a shade or ghost, yet in the exact likeness or image of the visible man. This use of the word ψυχή is probably quite common in the classics, and some think examples of this use of the word may be found in the Scriptures. The Revelator does, indeed, say, "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." Rev. vi. 9. But it is by no means certain that the ghosts or shades of martyrs are meant; though dead, the martyrs are represented as speaking,

and having an interest in the spread of Christianity; but there is a passage in Josephus in which *soul* seems to mean the shades of the departed. He says that Saul bade "his servants to inquire for some woman that was a necromancer, and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women, who bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell events to such as desire them." *Ant.* 6, 14, 2. But it is not easy to prove that the word has this meaning in the Scriptures. When David says, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy holy One to see corruption," (Ps. xvi. 10, Acts ii. 27) he may mean simply that God will preserve his life.

It has been thought by some that the word soul is used in a few passages in the Bible to denote man's spiritual and immortal nature; and these words of Jesus are quoted as an example: "And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Matt. x. 28. But if man's spiritual and immortal nature is here meant, we should expect to find authority for this usage in some previous discourse of the Saviour; but no such authority is found. Is it probable that the Saviour or the apostles would give a new and unheard of meaning to a word when speaking on one of the most important subjects that could engage the attention of his auditors, without any intimation of so doing? Is it not more probable that men have attached a modern signification to the word *soul*, than that the Saviour gave it a meaning which it had not before received, and which it probably has in no other passage of the gospels? Besides, it might be urged that the destruction of the soul denotes its annihilation, so that if the soul is destroyed, the spiritual and immortal nature will be annihilated. The meaning of the Saviour doubtless is that the soul, whatever it denotes, will be literally destroyed. If the soul means simply the life, the animal life, which man has in common with brutes, then it may be utterly destroyed, and man's immortality not be affected in the least thereby. It does not

appear that the ancient Jews regarded the body itself as possessing life, but rather as the outward, physical form, into which the soul was breathed. The text which affirms that God made man of earth, and "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul," strongly proves this view of the matter. Hence, to kill the body, meaning to take the life, is not a permissible form of expression. But to kill the body must denote bodily inflictions of some kind, while to kill or to take the life must be expressed by some form of words which involves the taking or the destruction of the soul.

And we find numerous examples of this form of expression both in the Old Testament and in the New. Jesus says to his enraged disciples, who would call down fire on the Samaritans, "I am not come to destroy men's lives, (souls) but to save them." The Jewish belief and teaching respecting the soul necessitates the conclusion here arrived at. A different exegesis does violence to Jewish psychology and cannot be admitted. That complete destruction is meant, in the common acceptation of the phrase, seems probable also from a passage in Isaiah, where the prophet says, when foretelling the destruction of the King of Assyria, "The Holy One shall consume the glory of his forest, and his fruitful field, both soul and body." Ch. x. 18. This simply denotes complete destruction without a hint of punishment or suffering beyond death; for it will be noticed that it is the forest and fruitful field which are to be destroyed both soul and body.

Adjectives have a meaning kindred to that of the nouns with which they are allied by origin; therefore the use and meaning of the adjective derived from the word translated soul, will aid us in determining the meaning of soul itself. This adjective is not in frequent use in the New Testament, yet its meaning cannot easily be mistaken in any place where found. St. Paul says, "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." 1 Cor. ii. 14. No one can mistake the natural man for the spiritual and immortal nature. The Latin translation of the passage has the word *animalis*, which, though

it expresses correctly the sense of the original, does not favor the common opinion that the soul is the immortal part of man. Again, the apostle says, "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body and there is a spiritual body." 1 Cor. xv. 44. The spiritual body doubtless denotes the spiritual and immortal nature, which is put in contrast with the natural body, which the Latin version expresses by *animalis*, as in the previous example. The body possessing animal life is meant, probably including also animal passions. St. James uses a form of expression which may seem remarkable: "This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, *sensual*, devilish." Ch. iii. 15. Here the adjective derived from *Psuke* is rendered sensual, which shows that the soul is associated with the animal body, not with the spiritual and immortal nature. To the extent, then, that the adjective can be relied on as a witness in the case, it proves that the soul has an intimate connection with the animal body, but no connection with the spiritual and immortal nature, since the two are put in contrast with each other, and proves also that in the ancient Jewish psychology, *Psuke* had a meaning very different from that which soul has both in the common language and in the metaphysical writings of modern times.

Ζωή, *Zoe*, differs from *ψυχή*, *Psuke*, as *vita* does from *anima*; and biblical usage does not permit one word to be substituted for the other. We should as soon expect to find *homo* used for *vir* in the classics. *Ζωή* never denotes the life as an animating principle, and never denotes a being possessed of animal life, but always existence prolonged; or it always involves the idea of time when used literally. Space need not be occupied in proving the correctness of this simple statement; quotations by way of illustration will suffice. Jacob said unto Pharaoh, "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and I have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in their pilgrimage." Gen. xlvii. 9. It is evident life in this passage does not mean the

animal life, or the animating principle, but it involves the idea of time. The apostle says, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most miserable." 1 Cor. xv. 19. There can be no doubt that life-time is meant. One of the best examples in the Bible to show the difference in the use and meaning of these two words is found in Judges xvi. 30, which describes the death of Samson: "And Samson said, Let me (*my soul*) die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might, and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein; so that the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." His life must mean his life-time.

As these two words are necessarily translated into English by one word, *life*, there may be some ambiguity in several passages of our Bible which does not appear in the original; yet in a large majority of cases it will be easy to decide whether life denotes the life-time or the animating principle.

In numerous places Christ is spoken of as the author of life, or as giving life to his disciples. This life is always expressed by *zoe*, which denotes continuous existence, or at least involves the idea of time. We may find a reason for this in the prevailing belief of the time. The Jews believed that the Christ was to be a temporal prince and reign forever on the throne of David; hence the prophecies which Jesus uttered of his own death greatly perplexed the disciples themselves, and his tragic end, aside from the miraculous events attending it, was proof to many that he was not the Christ who should come; but Jesus claimed to be the Christ, and applied to himself and to his reign the words and phrases which the Scribes applied to the temporal Christ and kingdom which they were looking for. But as his was a moral or spiritual kingdom, their words assumed a moral or spiritual meaning when applied to himself and his reign. Hence the eternal or everlasting life, which in Jewish usage denoted life indefinitely prolonged, when applied to the life which Christ secures to his subjects, has no reference to physical or natural life, but it denotes the life of faith which they enjoy who have become the disciples of Jesus.

By giving a common phrase a new application and a spiritual meaning, the Scribes were unable to understand the Saviour, though he spoke with so great plainness that it seems to us they were extremely dull of apprehension. He defines very clearly the phrase "eternal life" as he uses it when he says it is "to know God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent." And in several places it is spoken of as a possession which the believers in Christ had already attained to. He says to the Jews, "He that hath my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life." John v. 24. Mr. Barnes says the meaning of this is, he "hath passed over from a state of spiritual death to the life of the Christian." Again Jesus says, "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread that cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." John vi. 47–51. It is at least doubtful if the idea of time is involved in the phrase *eternal life*, as Christ used it; but this is a question which it is not deemed necessary to our purpose to discuss.

This inquiry has a bearing on certain doctrines deemed important in our times, which may be made more apparent by a brief statement. It has been shown that the word *Psuke*, as used in the Bible, has several meanings, the chief of which are, the animal life, which all kinds of living creatures possess, then, man himself, as a living being on earth, and also the body after the life has departed from it. It never denotes the spiritual and immortal nature, or the spiritual and intellectual entity, which in modern times is called the soul. The soul, *Psuke*, is not spoken of as having or being an existence independent of the body, or beyond the death of the body, unless in a very few instances it denotes the shade or ghost of the departed, which is doubtful. Men, when about to die, never commended their souls to God, or used language which inti-

mated that the soul would go with them, or constitute any part of themselves in the future life. This they could not do if the soul was understood to be the animal life. The spirit is spoken of as the immortal part of man, and the spirit was commended to God when departing from life. The spirit returns to God who gave it. And Stephen, when about to expire, said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." It is worthy of remark that the spirit is not spoken of as liable to loss, punishment or destruction, while the soul is exposed to all these. The soul, ψυχή, may be lost, destroyed, or taken, without touching or endangering the blessed immortality or the future happy destiny of man. The soul may be lost, or destroyed in the most awful manner, and yet the spiritual and immortal nature perish not, and perhaps receive no injury. Indeed, it is improper to speak of the loss of the soul as eternal or everlasting except as implying complete and utter destruction. To teach the endless, or even the future punishment of men on the authority of those passages which speak of the loss or destruction of the soul, is to teach a doctrine for which there is no authority in the Scriptures. There is no authority for this except what is gained by giving scripture words a meaning which they never had in those early times.

As the soul, *Psuke*, is not gifted with immortality, does not possess endless life, it follows that all pain or suffering, loss or destruction which the soul endures, or to which it is liable, must end with death; for as the vital principle, and man as a being possessed of animal life, cannot consistently be spoken of as exposed to pain or loss when the animal life has become extinct, it is impossible for any infliction which is visited on the soul to extend beyond death. It is indeed proper to use the word *soul*, as it is now commonly used in conversation and in works on Psychology, but by applying this meaning to soul as used in the Scriptures, doctrines are foisted into the sacred text which are strangely unlike the doctrines taught by the inspired writers, and by him who spake as never man spake.

Article XII.

The Grounds of Endless Punishment Considered.

We propose in the present article to consider the more important grounds on which the advocates of endless punishment are pleased to rest that tremendous doctrine. By grounds, here, we mean something altogether distinct from the proof-texts usually adduced from the Scriptures in its support — something, indeed, that lies back of all these, and on which their popular interpretation is made to stand. In other words, we propose to inquire into the rationale of this great doctrine, to examine the fundamental reasons, the ultimate principles, by an appeal to which its friends and advocates attempt to justify it to the understanding and conscience of mankind.

The doctrine of endless punishment, of infinite torments, is, beyond all question, the most remarkable and the most amazing doctrine ever ascribed to the Christian religion, or indeed any other religion, however gross or barbarous. The horrors that gather around the faintest conception of such a punishment are such as few minds are able to bear, and well justify the remark of the eloquent Saurin, that, when reflecting upon it, and upon the exposure of himself, his friends, and the whole race to it, "it rendered society tiresome, food insipid, and life itself a cruel bitter. I cease to wonder," he added, "that the fear of hell has made some melancholy and others mad."

Such a doctrine as this we cannot be called upon to believe, it seems to us, except upon the clearest, the most direct, and the most indubitable evidence. It is so at war with the whole spirit and teaching of the Christian religion; with the character there ascribed to God, his benevolent purposes, and his unchanging wisdom and goodness, that we should do Revelation, as well as our own souls, a grievous wrong, if we accepted it on any proofs less than irresistible. Drexelius, an eminent

advocate of this doctrine, says, in one of his works, and evidently for the purpose of making it most efficacious in the conversion of sinners, "If all the severest and most barbarous tortures which were ever invented by the tyrants of the earth, who by anxious thought and hellish contrivances improved and refined the art of cruelty and brought it to perfection; if these, I say, were to be heaped upon the head of one man, and he was to endure them for a hundred years, yet they would not come near the pains of the damned for one day." Had an enemy of religion and of God, instead of a pious Christian, said all this, it would have justly been regarded as the height of blasphemy, for it would have been saying, with design, what Drexelius said without apparently at all reflecting upon its true import and bearings, that God is a moral monster, and that in providing for the endless tortures of some of his own creatures he has infinitely outdone all that "the tyrants of the earth, who by anxious thought and hellish contrivances improved and refined the art of cruelty," have been able to accomplish! Is not this to be wounded grievously in the house of one's friends? Such a doctrine, we repeat, should be adopted by no one but upon the most conclusive evidence.

It is claimed, we know, by the advocates of this revolting doctrine, that they have decided proof of its truth; that it is clearly revealed in the Scriptures, and is placed beyond all possible doubt by the express declarations of both Christ and his apostles. Now if Christ and his apostles have thus clearly taught this doctrine, it must still be conceded that they were the first of all God's servants who did so. It was never revealed to the ancient Israelites; it makes no part of the Old Testament religion. Neither patriarch nor prophet, so far as the Holy Scriptures afford us any light upon the subject, was instructed in it, or even dreamed of its truth. Indeed, it seems to have been a thing unheard of and unthought of among the people of God for four thousand years. How are we to account for so important an omission? If the doctrine is true to-day, it was true then; if it is needed now as a moral and restraining influence, how happens it that it was not

needed in the earlier stages of the world? The Old Testament gives us a history of God's dealings with mankind, and especially with the children of Israel, through forty centuries. It treats of a great variety of matters, and of many with great particularity, and yet through a volume more than three times as large as the New Testament, we shall look in vain for any revelation of endless punishment, or even an intelligent hint of such a doctrine. At the time of Christ's advent, this doctrine was indeed held by the Pharisees, a mere sect of the Jews, "a philosophical heresy," as Josephus, himself a Pharisee, represents them, and as a class, the greatest hypocrites, perhaps, the world ever saw, and withal, the constant enemies, the untiring persecutors, of our Savior. Did he borrow this doctrine from their lips? The very thought is preposterous. Then, should we not do well to reflect that Christ came to proclaim good news, and to fulfil the promises of mercy and grace with which the Old Testament abounds, and to establish a better covenant? The law came by Moses, and with the law came the threatenings and curses, while by Jesus Christ came grace and truth. How, we would respectfully ask the advocates of endless punishment, can we explain the fact, if fact it is, that God revealed this doctrine, not by Moses in the law, but by Jesus Christ in the gospel? No man can read the New Testament without feeling assured that Christ came, not to reveal new terrors, but to save people from old ones; not to throw around the law the protection of infinitely greater penalties, but to introduce the higher law of love, and recommend and enforce it by his own example. The salvation which Christ came to establish does not consist in endless torments, but in loving God supremely and our neighbor as ourselves.

On further inquiry, we find, in point of fact, that the doctrine of endless punishment rests, so far as even the New Testament is concerned, essentially on the single Greek word *αἰών*, and its adjective *αἰώνιος*. How precarious a proof these words afford such a doctrine — a doctrine that sweeps with such destructive force across the hopes of man, and both the

wisdom and benevolence, not to say the justice of God — will be seen at once when we reflect that they, and the corresponding Hebrew word which they uniformly represent, are applied to a great variety of things, the duration of some of which is exceedingly brief, and many others which passed away centuries ago and are almost forgotten. It would seem to be a proposition whose truth requires no proof that nothing can be absolutely endless except God, and what has the ground of its being in him in such a manner as to show, as an apostle says, "the divine nature," and so be an object of his love and complacency.

But though these words, and all the forms of evidence brought in support of this doctrine, were vastly stronger than they are, or than any candid man can claim them to be, still no one could reasonably accept and maintain it, unless it could be shown to have some ground, in the nature of things, in the necessities of moral government, in the honor of God, or the welfare of the intelligent universe, that would justify it to our understanding and conscience. All Christians agree that God possesses infinite power and all moral perfections, and that, therefore, he always acts with the highest wisdom and goodness. Nor can it be pretended that, on a subject of such moment as this, we are or can be left to mere conjecture. The exercise of the divine justice in the moral government of God, is certainly not among the darkest of his dealings. As religious beings we are endowed with reason and a moral faculty, and God calls upon us to employ them, to study his ways, to learn his statutes and judgments, and judge what is right. We know that under the divine government sinners deserve to be punished, and every enlightened conscience approves the plain teachings of revelation that "God renders to every man according to his works."

Our controversy with the religious world about us does not relate at all to the fact that God is just, or that he justly punishes the wicked. Upon these facts, indeed, we insist far more frequently and more earnestly than do our neighbors. Our difference with them relates to quite another question,

namely, what is a just punishment of sin? Is it finite and temporal, or is it infinite and endless? Is it benevolent as well as just, designed to teach the sinner how evil and bitter a thing sin is, and therefore to reform him and lead him into the path of righteousness, or is it simply revengeful, as our religious neighbors seem to us to represent it, intended solely to inflict pain and produce a misery, which, as it is to have no end, so can properly be said to have no object. The difference between these two views is heaven-wide and admits of no reconciliation. If Universalists err on this subject, their error is no doubt a radical one, but it is one into which they fall in an earnest and cordial attempt to vindicate the character of God, and save it from the undeserved misrepresentations and reproaches of those who think themselves his special friends; and they cannot persuade themselves that even the God of orthodoxy will "damn them everlastingly" for thinking and speaking of him more lovingly and worthily than he deserves. If, on the other hand, we are right, and our orthodox neighbors err, who can measure the wrong of which they are guilty, — the wrong of misrepresenting the whole aim and purpose of God in the administration of his justice, and of holding him up habitually before the world as a monster of cruelty and revenge, in comparison with whom "all the tyrants of the earth" seem poor and pitiful!

Now if sinners are to be punished through all eternity; if they are to be excluded from all possible good, and subjected to all possible forms and degrees of evil,—and the doctrine we are considering seems necessarily to imply all this,—no reasonable man, no Christian, we are sure, will pretend for a moment that such a fearful punishment is to be inflicted, or, under the government of a wise and benevolent God, can be inflicted, without the wisest, the best, the most imperative reasons for it, — reasons, indeed, that must render such an awful fate practically unavoidable. If here in this momentary existence "God does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men;" if to use the severities of his justice here in this world, where its operation is so mild, or, if sharp, then also short, is

his "strange work," with what confidence may we assume that an eternity of hopeless, useless suffering cannot be admitted into the universe of God, but upon considerations so clear, so strong, so irresistible, as to silence all the pleas of mercy and satisfy every moral being that it is not only infinitely *right*, but absolutely *necessary*. To say the least of such a terrible punishment, it must be *just*, and its justice should be at once manifest and unquestionable.

And this, if we understand the advocates of the doctrine, is what they claim for it. They say such a punishment is just and right; they affirm that it is necessary to the integrity of divine government; that without it the well-being of the universe could not be maintained; and finally, that without such an exhibition of divine justice the character of God himself would suffer, and his glory and honor be tarnished forever. And they say this, not simply because they believe God is about to do it, and that whatever he does must be right, but because, as they pretend, they can see the justice and moral necessity of such punishment, and are able to assign satisfactory reasons for it. It is these reasons that we are about to examine.

If now we carefully consider the whole range of possibilities within the realm of human thought upon this subject, we shall be forced to conclude, we think, either,

1. That sin is in its very nature infinite, and therefore properly deserves an infinite punishment; or,

2. That some men will continue to sin forever, and therefore justly deserve to be forever punished; or,

3. That sinning for a certain time, or up to a certain degree, we destroy our moral nature, and place ourselves beyond the possibility of repentance and reformation; or

4. That by an arbitrary decree God will, at any moment he pleases, put an end to the probation of the wicked, and so consign them to endless, and, therefore, hopeless torment.

Under some one of these four hypotheses can be brought, we believe, every pretended ground on which the doctrine of endless punishment was ever made to rest, every principle

by which men ever attempted to justify it. Let us consider them in the order now suggested, viz., Infinite Sin; Endless Sinning; the Annihilation of our Moral Nature; or, finally, A direct interposition of Divine Power to cut short our probationary state and consign us to hell.

1. It was formerly maintained, much more frequently and earnestly than it is now, that Sin is in its very nature an Infinite Evil, and, therefore, plainly deserves an infinite punishment. The doctrine took a variety of forms, but commonly began and ended in essentially the same way. How sin happened to be infinite, what gave it that character, was a point that admitted of no little difference of opinion, but that somehow it was so, all of this large school were happy to agree. Dr. Edwards, it will be remembered, assumed this ground boldly, and apparently with unshrinking confidence in its demonstrable truth: and perhaps I cannot do better than to state the doctrine in his words. In his famous sermon on The Eternity of Hell Torments, though not so ambitious as some of our theologians of the present day, who would persuade the world that the infinite misery of hell is a sublime proof of God's benevolence, nay, as Dr. Thompson would have it, of his infinite love, Dr. Edwards manfully undertook to show that a punishment absolutely without end is not contrary to the justice of God.

"To evince this," he says, "I shall use only one argument, viz., that sin is heinous enough to deserve such a punishment, and such a punishment is no more than proportionable to the evil or demerit of sin. If the evil of sin be infinite as the punishment is, then it is manifest that the punishment of sin is no more than proportionable to the sin punished, and is no more than the sin deserves. And if the obligation to love, honor, and obey God be infinite, then sin, which is a violation of this obligation, is a violation of infinite obligation, and so an infinite evil. Again, if God be infinitely worthy of love, honor and obedience, then our obligation to love, honor and obey him is infinitely great. So that God being infinitely glorious, or infinitely worthy of our love, honor and obedience, our ob-

ligation to love, honor and obey him, and so avoid all sin, is infinitely great. Again, our obligation to love, honor and obey God being infinitely great, sin is a violation of infinite obligation, and so is an infinite evil. Once more, sin being an infinite evil deserves infinite punishment; an infinite punishment is no more than it deserves. Therefore such a punishment is just; which was the thing to be proved."

That some minds should be imposed upon by such reasoning as this, is not to be thought remarkable. It wears the aspect of mathematical demonstration, and it must be confessed that Dr. Edwards goes about it with all the coolness and moral indifference with which a geometrician would demonstrate a proposition of Euclid. In this we find a beautiful illustration of a remark somewhere made by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher that it is one thing for a clergyman to sit in his study and argue the doctrine of endless torment, and quite another to maintain that doctrine in the face of a dead child, whose life had gone out in a state of unbelief and sin. How Dr. Edwards would have managed in such a case, we can only conjecture, but we see above with what infinite composure he demonstrated, after his fashion, what is still taught in all Calvinistic confessions, that every sin justly subjects the sinner "to all the miseries of this life, death itself and the pains of hell forever." But that Dr. Edwards, acute, metaphysical, and logical as he was, should never have suspected the monstrous fallacy in which he was indulging; nay more, that he should unhesitatingly have predicated such a doctrine as that of infinite punishment upon it, and that, not like Plato, for a few enormous sinners, but for every individual who fails in the minutest degree duly "to love, honor and obey God," and consequently the whole human race, and that he should attempt to justify such a moral horror in the face of heaven by it, may be regarded, not as remarkable alone, but as profoundly amazing! Could he not see that this reasoning makes man the equal of God, and the least human sin as infinite as the perfections of the Almighty?

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by which men ever attempted to justify it. Let us consider them in the order now suggested, viz., Infinite Sin; Endless Sinning; the Annihilation of our Moral Nature; or, finally, A direct interposition of Divine Power to cut short our probationary state and consign us to hell.

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ishment as Dr. Edwards himself, clearly perceived how utterly fallacious this whole tissue of infinities is. "It is not my design to deny this doctrine," says he, "nor to scrutinize the arguments by which it is usually supported. It is, however, but just to observe that neither the doctrine nor the arguments have appeared so satisfactory to the minds of others as they have done to those by whom they have been alleged. We know nothing of infinity but the fact that certain things are infinite. The nature of infinity we cannot comprehend at all; nor can we form any conception of what this phraseology means. It hardly needs to be observed that where we have no conceptions, we can form no comparisons, and therefore can make no propositions, the truth of which can be perceived by our minds." In other words, if Dr. Dwight may be believed, this whole argument, which looks so formidable, and seems knit together by the most rigid logic, is simple nonsense from beginning to end. It means absolutely nothing. That awful word *infinite*, of which Dr. Edwards makes so much, actually vitiates the whole reasoning and renders it nugatory.

This consideration alone is sufficient at once to dispose of the doctrine of infinite sin; but this is far from being all that ought to be urged against it. It is beset with objections and difficulties on every side. It involves a whole series of consequences which should not be overlooked, any one of which would not only refute the doctrine, but also exhibit its unreasonable character, we might almost say its naked absurdity. Let it be observed that Dr. Edwards predicates the infinity of sin, not at all upon the nature or powers of the sinner, but solely on some relation in which he stands to God. God is infinite, and infinitely glorious, and infinitely worthy of love, honor and obedience, and therefore, man's failure properly to appreciate and respect the divine character and law, and conform himself in every act and thought to it, is an infinite evil! To illustrate the extravagance, not to say the absurdity of such a proposition, let us suppose that a man were to dethrone God, and assume the government of the universe; counteract all its benevolent laws, and convert it bodily and in all its ex-

tent, into an orthodox hell; and what could this be but an infinite evil? Now an evil of precisely this magnitude Dr. Edwards pretends to find in every sin that has ever been committed since the dawn of creation! God, he says, is infinitely worthy of love, honor and obedience; and if God is infinitely worthy of love, honor and obedience, then our obligation to love, honor and obey him is an infinite obligation; and if the obligation to love, honor and obey God is an infinite obligation, sin, which is a violation of this obligation, is a violation of infinite obligation, and so is an infinite evil; and finally, an infinite evil, or infinite sin, plainly deserves an infinite punishment: *Quod erat demonstrandum.* It used to be argued more briefly and quite as satisfactorily that as God is an infinite being, his law must be infinite also, and the violation of an infinite law cannot be less than infinite sin. Now it happens unfortunately for this kind of slip-shod reasoning upon the infinities, that while God is infinite, man, the sinner, who is placed under obligaton and law, is very finite. We may talk of infinite law and obligation, but we cannot conceive, much less be held infinitely responsible to either. Our obligations are obviously limited by our knowledge and powers. To say that man can commit an infinite sin, is to say that he can perform an act which none but an infinite being could do. The Almighty himself, were he to commit the geatest sin in his power, could do nothing worse.

Then if man is guilty of an infinite evil, when he sins, should not an infinite good be ascribed to him when he does well? If every act of disobedience deserves endless punishment, should not every act of obedience merit an endless reward? If failing "to love, honor and obey God" is infinitely wrong, loving, honoring and obeying him must be infinitely right.

Besides, it deserves to be considered that an infinite sin or evil, if we mean anything by such a term, has all the magnitude of God himself, and it becomes a very grave question what the Almighty even could do with such an evil in the universe. Obviously it could neither be punished, nor atoned for, nor forgiven. It must confront the Omnipotent everywhere

and forever. Would it have been wise in the Almighty to admit such an unwelcome and unmanageable thing into the universe, to cloud and disfigure his work forever, and especially to admit, not one, but countless millions of infinite evils? How utterly inconsistent this thought of infinite sin is with the whole doctrine of the Bible, we need not stop to remark. That teaches that where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that Christ came to take away the sin of the world; that good is mightier than evil, and overcomes it. In a universe created and governed by a God of holiness, there may be sin, but no infinite sin, no irremediable evil.

There is another consideration not to be overlooked. If sin is, in its very nature, infinite, it can need no argument to show that there is only one grade, one degree of sin. What is infinite admits of no comparisons; it has no greater and no less. If sin is infinite, then all sins have the same magnitude and deserve the same punishment. This consequence, though often practically overlooked, as it was by Dr. Edwards himself, is clearly recognized by every Calvinistic confession of faith in the world. One of them, widely accepted in this country today, says expressly, "Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all misery, spiritual, temporal, and eternal." Now, if every sin involves all these fearful consequences, it is plain that there can be no degrees of guilt or punishment. No sin can be more than infinite, and none can be punished with more than "death with all miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal," or as our New England orthodoxy expresses it, "with death itself and the pains of hell forever." From such a statement, it seems to follow unavoidably, that a man who has sinned once, has nothing further to fear from sinning more. He has by that one sin incurred all the guilt that is possible; he has committed an infinite evil, and merited all the punishment that God himself can inflict through all eternity! And what deserves particu-

lar notice in this horrible theology, is, that "original sin," as well as actual, subjects the soul to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so "to all miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal." By "original sin," our orthodox friends mean the *sinful nature* with which, they allege, we come into the world; it is a sin that belongs to our very being; that is inwoven with our existence, and makes a part of us as truly as do our reason and conscience, our flesh and blood. Original sin antedates all actual transgression, and exists in all its violence and force long before we are capable of any moral action whatever. It is, in short, the sin of being born of human parents, of being descended from Adam, who, alas for us, sinned in Eden six thousand years ago, and so bequeathed this *sinful nature* to all his posterity, and with it, God's infinite and endless curse! It is sad to think that, in the light of this venerable doctrine, a little babe, that in its beauty, helplessness and innocence, so kindles our love and quickens our best sympathies; that brings so much joy into the world with it, is, after all, totally depraved, a little devil in disguise, an object of God's perfect hate, and, for the very nature it possesses, deserves all the torments of an endless hell! Many good people imagine that a thought so horrible as this of *the damnation of infants* could never have been believed. And we ourselves are ready to doubt if there is a nation of heathen or a tribe of savages, however barbarous, in the world, that ever made the damnation of infants a part of their religious faith; and yet, we are pained to confess that this very doctrine has been accepted for fifteen centuries in the Christian Church, and that, too, not by a few crack-brained heretics, but by a large body of the very pink of orthodoxy, claiming the deepest spiritual knowledge, and the largest and brightest piety. Whatever may be said about it, or however it may be denied, this doctrine of infant damnation is necessarily implied, if not clearly expressed, in every Calvinistic confession of faith in Christendom, and has been inwoven in that theory from the days of Augustine to this very hour. It is, perhaps, inseparable from the doctrines of original sin and total depravity, by whomsoever held, and is certainly so from

that of eternal election and reprobation under whatever form it may appear. It makes part of the creed of thousands and thousands in New England, and of several millions within our whole country, to-day. If they do not believe it, which would be a compliment to their moral feeling, though a reproach to their intelligence or consistency, it must be because they do not believe what they are understood to profess.

Yet in connection with this doctrine of infinite sin men absurdly talk of *degrees* of guilt and punishment. Even Dr. Edwards, after having demonstrated in his way that sin is infinite, tells us that "The Scripture teaches that the wicked will suffer different *degrees* of torment, according to the different aggravations of their sins," and invites us to consider that "if one sinful word or thought has so much evil in it as to deserve eternal destruction, how do they deserve to be eternally cast off and destroyed that are guilty of so much sin!" We wish he had been kind enough to suggest to us what aggravations an infinite sin is capable of. If sin is really infinite, as he attempts to prove, aggravations are obviously impossible; and if it is not infinite, no aggravations can make it so.

We have dwelt upon this point longer, no doubt, than its intrinsic merits could deserve, but it was once a famous position for the advocates of endless torments, and it is still lingering in the minds of many who would perhaps be ashamed boldly to avow it. That it should ever have been adopted, or, indeed, dreamed of, is a matter for wonder, and of especial wonder that minds like that of Dr. Edwards' should for a moment have been fascinated and deluded by it. Such a phenomenon in the intellectual world, is to be accounted for only by considering the imperative necessity under which orthodox doctors were placed of discovering or inventing some theory adequate to justify the facts they had already assumed. Having professed faith in the doctrine of endless punishment, they gladly welcomed any fiction, however absurd at bottom, that promised to do them the signal favor of providing even a plausible ground for it. They felt, as every man of sound

moral judgment cannot avoid feeling, that such a monstrous fact as that of the torture of a single human soul through all eternity,— and hence not only the utter ruin of such a soul, but the absolute defeat of the divine purpose in its creation,— cannot exist in the universe of God without some good reason, some imperious necessity; and what better reason is there to be suggested than that sin is, in its very nature, infinite, and therefore heinous enough to justify infinite torture? It would be amazing, were not the subject so grave and the consequences so appalling, to see learned and eloquent divines of the present day swinging about this venerable absurdity of infinite sin, ashamed frankly to acknowledge it, and yet tacitly assuming it, and under one disguise or another basing the whole doctrine of endless punishment upon it, as really as did Dr. Edwards himself. Of this species of theological legerdemain, the Rev. Mr. Finney, of revival memory, furnishes us a pleasant example, who finds the measure of guilt, not in the powers of man, but in the infinite interests which the divine government has to protect. But he is excelled in this agreeable kind of imposition by Dr. Thompson in his "Love and Penalty," where he adroitly finds the infinite of sin in its *quality*, not in its *quantity*; whence it appears that the child who picks a pin from a schoolmate's sleeve as really deserves "all the pains of hell forever," as the wretch who had committed a thousand murders. And such nonsense, and worse than nonsense, such an insult to the moral judgment of mankind, is good, Christian theology in this nineteenth century of grace!

2. Having thus seen that the assumption of the infinity of sin is not only untenable, in every point of view, but also involves consequences that are shocking alike to common sense and common morality, let us proceed to examine the more popular hypothesis of the present day, that the wicked will *continue to sin forever*, and will therefore justly deserve to be forever punished. "God," says Dr. Dwight, "may justly punish sin as long as it exists, and it may exist forever. He who sins through this life may sin through another such period, and another, and another, without end. That while

we continue to sin, God may justly punish us, if he can justly punish us at all, is equally evident. No reason can be given why sin may not be punished at any future time with as much justice and propriety as at present. That it may be justly punished at the present time, cannot be denied any more than that it is in fact punished." Prof. Stuart adopted the same hypothesis. "May not pnnishment continue," he asks, "as long as sinning? Cannot divine jdstice render the sinner miserable, sô long as he continues to be a sinner, that is, so long as he remains impenitent? It will be admitted, I trust, by candid and reasonable men, that in the nature of things, as the world is constituted, sinners cannot be happy without being brought to repentance. It follows, from their very nature, while sinning and impenitent that they are *incapable* of the happiness of heaven."

It will be at once observed that this is not only a total abandonment of the hypothesis of infinite sin, which we have just examined, but a practical denial of it. It is taking essentially new ground, and ground that annihilates the former. The two cannot co-exist, since they are mutually destructive of each other. One assumes that sin is in its very nature infinite; it is its quality that renders it so; and therefore a single act, however venial it may seem to the judgment or conscience of men, justly deserves the endless curse of God. The other absolutely rejects this whole assumption as groundless, and maintains that sin, like its author, is finite, and therefore deserves only a finite punishment. But then, to make amends for what it thus loses, it insists that sin will become, practically, infinite by its infinite repetitions. The sinner will continue to sin forever, it is said, and reason dictates that so long as he persists in sinning, so long may God justly continue to punish him. The two theories are thus antagonistic and mutually destructive. The only point in which they agree is the issue to which they alike finally come — the eternity of punishment, and this they reach from opposite poles. And it is iuteresting to observe how the advocates of these two theories, which so entirely oppugn each other, and mutually necessitate

a revolution of thought, — a total change in the whole sheme of sin and penalty, — manage to treat each other with such fraternal regard and consideration. They remind us of Herod and Pilate, who were suddenly made friends by being engaged in the common work of crucifying Jesus.

In considering the ground of endless punishment now before us, we have to confess in the outset that it essentially modifies the aspect of that doctrine. It does this by making it harmonize with what we see of the divine government in the present life. We instinctively feel that the wrong-doer deserves to suffer; that the sinner should be punished. If he persists in sinning, we see no injustice, but on the contrary, we ackowledge a manifest justice in his being left to suffer for his sins; and however quick or strong our sympathies with his sufferings may be, our sense of justice and of his ill-desert overrides them all, and we acquiesce, from the depths of our being, in his being punished "according to his works." To state the doctrine of endless punishment, therefore, in the way these modern doctors do, robs it of more than half its horror. Never was there a better device for recommending it, and winning even the Univessalist himself to acknowledge its beauty, or at least its justice and necessity. If men with their eyes open, and with a perfect knowledge of the consequences, will go on, day after day, in rebellion against the government of infinite goodness, who is there to mourn over their punishment, however he may regret their infatuation and folly. Indeed, terrible as the abstract thought of endless suffering may be, we confess that we should lose much of our sympathy with any being, who, out of the mere love of wrong-doing, should persistently choose to sacrifice his endless happiness and undergo an endless pain.

Now, believing as we do that sin and misery are linked together; that guilt is always followed by retribution, we should have no hesitation in acknowledging the result to which this second class of orthodox teachers would lead us, if the condition on which it is predicated were to be fulfilled. Grant that men will continue to sin through all eternity, and end-

less punishment will necessarily follow, unless we suppose that the divine government beyond the grave is to undergo an entire revolution. It is one of the settled facts of revelation, that God is just, and rewards every man according to his works; that "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished;" that "he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons." Such an administration is right, and just, and good. Hence the Universalist affirms with even greater emphasis than Dr. Dwight or Prof. Stuart, that the sinner will be punished as long as he continues to sin; and that the only condition of relief and peace, is to be found in repentance and reformation. "There is no peace to the wicked." What the sinner most needs is what Christ came to effect, viz. salvation from sin. Salvation in sin is a moral absurdity, and has no place in the realm of Universalist thought. To prove, then, that the punishment of any moral being will be absolutely endless, it is only necessary to prove that such a being will continue to sin endlessly.

Now we hardly need say that to sin, or be a sinner, obviously implies several things which deserve to be considered. To sin, one must be a rational, moral, and consequently a free being, under a rightful government which he is bound, and hence must be able, to obey. To sin through eternity one must necessarily continue through eternity in the full possession of his moral nature, with all his powers and faculties about him. And this, if we understand the advocates of this theory, is what they claim. He who sins through this life, they say, may sin through another such period, and another, and another, without end. It is assumed, of course, that the sinner remains the same being, with the same moral nature, through these successive periods of existence, and that he will sin in the future as he sins in the present. We sin here, not because we are forced to do so, not through any necessity of nature or habit, but in the exercise of our own free will. In the future sin can be possible under no other circumstances.

We cannot withhold our hearty assent to the doctrine here

implied. It maintains, in a consistent manner, the integrity of man's moral nature. He was created a moral being, and a moral being he will remain as long as he exists. His freedom of will is inherent and indestructible. Without it sin and accountability are but empty names, meaning nothing. Now a necessary consequence of all this, — and a consequence apparently overlooked by the advocates of this theory,—is, that where the possibility of sin exists, there must exist also the possibility of *not* sinning. He who may continue to sin through successive periods, as Dr. Dwight suggests, may also stop sinning. There is, there can be no fatal necessity in the case. Hence there can be no certainty, on this hypothesis, that any single soul will in fact go on sinning and suffering without end. It is possible, and that is the most that can be asserted in its favor. It is possible, yet this possibility is merely hypothetical. If we inquire what degree of probability attaches to it, the answer must be extremely unsatisfactory to the advocate of endless punishment. We are gravely told, we know, of those who have continued to sin through a long life, and the question is triumphantly asked what there is to prevent their going on in the same course through another lifetime, or ten, a hundred, a thousand, or a million lifetimes, and so without end? Now it is quite impossible for us to say how long a sinner, that is, a rational, moral, and therefore free being, may persist in a course of wrong-doing. We see instances about us every day that seem to us unaccountable. The example and exhortation of others, the upbraidings of their own conscience, and even the various sufferings which their sins bring upon them, seem to teach them little or nothing, and they go on in their evil ways in spite of it all. Let this be conceded, and how far does it help us toward the conclusion of endless sinning? In the first place, let it be considered that no man here is wholly sinful. In the worst of men there are some right thoughts, some kindly affections, some good deeds. In the great mass of sinners, it may be doubted if after all there are not, upon the whole, more virtues than vices; it is only in extreme cases that the moral character assumes a revolting aspect, and "total

depravity," we think, is impossible, since then man would be no longer the being that God created. Have we any reason to suppose that it will be otherwise in the future? In the ages to come will not the wicked have some good qualities and practice some virtues? Besides, are we justified in assuming that in the future men will learn nothing, and never repent, never reform? It is said that here we sometimes see men going on unrepentant, and instead of reforming actually growing worse and worse. Let us grant it, and still, on the other hand, do we not sometimes witness instances of gradual reformation or sudden conversion, which quite reverse all such hasty inferences? The worst of men, after a long, sinful night, awake to righteousness and enter upon a new life. And not unfrequently the conversion happens when we should least expect it, under circumstances the most unpromising, and when the subject seems farthest gone from the paths of peace. Had we seen the poor prodigal, the hour before his final resolution to arise and go to his father, who would have dared to anticipate the result to which that resolution led? Then would it not be well to reflect for a moment on the infinite disparity between the longest human life and that eternity of which we speak so familiarly and often so thoughtlessly? The age of Methuselah is as nothing to it. A thousand such generations sink into utter insignificance in its presence. A million ages, a million million, vanish and are lost in the feeblest contemplation of that incomprehensible idea. All comparisons, indeed, utterly fail. All measures of time, however long, or however multiplied, are only finite, while eternity is infinite. And yet men, learned men, thoughtful men, Christian men, boldly tell us that, because some of our race, in this beginning of their existence, sin occasionally, or frequently if you please, through this brief life, therefore they will continue to sin constantly through all the ages of eternity! Could madness itself go farther than this? It seems to us that eternity will have many a long and instructive school-day, and that its experiences can hardly fail to impress upon all human souls the gravest lessons and teach even the dullest and most obdurate how good and

beautiful holiness is, and how great is the folly as well as the wrong of rebelling against the righteous government of the Almighty.

For reflect a moment that man was made for virtue and happiness. This may truly be said to be the final cause, the great purpose, of his existence. That he was made to be happy, all are ready to acknowledge. But the happiness which God proposed for him — a moral and spiritual happiness — is impossible except through personal holiness. Then, consider that man has an undying, irrepressible love of happiness, and an indestructible dread of misery. Even in his blindness and sin he is always seeking to avoid pain and secure pleasure. But true happiness God has wisely linked with holiness, and as we have before said, misery is an unavoidable consequence of all sin. The real good which man needs and often blindly seeks is to be found only in obedience to God, in true conformity to the divine law, in spiritual harmony with his Maker. And is he never to learn this great truth? Can we believe that a rational and moral being, under the divine government, will go on forever without at last seeing the truth and conforming himself to it? Will he continue through all eternity growing in sin, and ever multiplying and deepening his miseries? Others may believe this, we cannot.

And this leads us to add, that beyond all the natural influences of experience, all the lessons of the divine providence in the administration of rewards and punishments, constantly operating, and eloquently teaching man that if he would be happy he must be holy, God has been pleased to introduce and establish a still higher means, a remedial scheme, whose object is not only to unfold the truth but win the affections to it. This scheme we call the Gospel, at the head of which stands the Son of God. And we have the assurance that, notwithstanding human ignorance, and sinfulness, and obduracy, he will not fail nor be discouraged in his redeeming work till it is accomplished, and he has subdued and drawn all men to himself.

But were all these considerations of no weight, which we

are sure no one will pretend, there is another objection to this hypothesis which must prove fatal to it. We refer to the fact that if the Scriptures teach the doctrine of endless punishment at all, they teach it as exclusively the righteous award for the sins of this present life. We shall search the divine oracles in vain, we believe, for any statement or even hint that men are to be punished forever simply because they will be forever sinning. The Bible represents men as being judged and condemned, not for what they may possibly be doing through the successive ages of eternity, but for what they have already done in time. In every account we are supposed to have in the New Testament of what is called the final judgment, acquittal or condemnation is predicated solely on the past conduct of men. In that most formidable description of the grand assize of the world, which we find in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, those on the right hand entered the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world, and those on the left were sent away into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels, not for what they might do or might neglect to do, in the future, but for what they had already done or failed to do here. And this is the uniform character of all those passages of Scripture which are supposed to treat upon this subject. Indeed, judging men and consigning them to "everlasting fire," or "everlasting punishment," for sins not yet committed, would be such a proceeding as we could not without great wrong ascribe to the Righteous Judge of all souls. We know that some theologians, oppressed by the awful disparity between finite sin and infinite punishment, have sought in what they called the *scientia media Dei*, God's knowledge of what men would do if they had opportunity, a justification of his final sentence. God, they said, foresees how every individual would act, if he were to live in this world forever, and therefore he may justly condemn them to endless punishment, though the sins they have already committed deserve no such amount of retribution. But did not God know equally well before we were born how we should conduct ourselves, and might he not therefore with the same

justice have consigned us to an endless hell, before we had acted at all? The language of Scripture is that of common sense, and it uniformly represents God as rendering to every man "according to his works."

Now this whole doctrine of the Bible might stand in harmony with the doctrine of infinite sin, but cannot be reconciled with that of finite sin infinitely repeated. However philosophical, then, this theory may seem, it obviously has no support in Scripture, and must therefore be abandoned, or the whole teaching of the Bible must be given up. If the doctrine that sin is infinite is untenable under every view we can take of it, this of sinning forever is, if possible, still more so. Give it all the force its most zealous advocates can claim for it, and it does not prove that any single soul will go on sinning and suffering without end; it does not even make such a result probable. All that can reasonably be affirmed under it, is that such a thing is *possible*. It is possible that a rational, moral being, with a constant love of happiness and dread of misery, in spite of all the attractions of the gospel, may, in the full exercise of his moral freedom, deliberately choose to continue in a state of sin and suffering forever; may close his eyes to the beauties of goodness and the deformities of vice, and persistently resolve to make evil his good, to call bitter sweet, to hail darkness as light, and to regard pain, and anguish, and tears as his joy and felicity forever! This we repeat is possible, and men may affirm it, and yet every one must feel how infinitely improbable it is and what a slender foundation it affords for such a doctrine as that of endless punishment.

We ought, perhaps, to add that this theory of endless sinning is a denial of the popular doctrine that there is no change after death, and that the present life is our only state of probation, as well as of the infinity of sin. We need not repeat that sin is a free act of a free moral being, and that so long as sin is possible to one it is also possible that he may cease to sin. Make sinning necessary, and the very notion involves the absurdity that sin is not sin, but an act as indifferent morally as the falling of a stone or the movement of the planets.

Article XIII.

Paul's Preaching at Athens.

The account of Paul's preaching at Athens, and the sermon that he gave on Mars' Hill, are found in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xvii. 16–34. The sermon is probably the grandest, save that of Jesus on the Mount, which was ever delivered to men. The preacher was the chief apostle to the Gentiles; the auditors, Athenian philosophers; the place, the seat of justice in the most cultivated city of the time; the subject, the religion of Jesus, embracing the doctrine of God the Father of all men, his government in the earth, and the resurrection of the dead. Nothing grander could inspire a public speaker; nothing could be worthier of the most acute reasoner, the most eloquent orator, the master spirit of the age. Nobly did Paul vindicate the cause committed to his hands; boldly did he speak forth words of truth and soberness; ably did he defend the Gospel of Jesus in its simple beauty and far-reaching results.

Undoubtedly we have, as given in the account, only the bare outlines of the sermon which the apostle preached on this occasion, but we have the principal heads that guided him in the expression of his thoughts, and these we can fill out with such suggestions as naturally flow from them.

I. *The Occasion and the Place.* Paul was on his second missionary tour in Asia when he came to Troas, and heard the Macedonian cry for aid. Giving heed to this cry, he made his first visit to Europe, and brought with him that gospel which was destined to introduce a new order of civilization and change the character of all this land. First landing at Neapolis, in Thrace, he passed on to Philippi, in Macedonia, where he and his companion were imprisoned, but being speedily released, they proceeded over the great Roman road, *Via Egnatia*, through Amphipolis and Appolonia to Thessalonica, where he preached in the synagogue of the Jews. Having stirred up a commotion among the unbelieving, he again took his de-

parture and went on still farther westward to Berea, where he was favorably received by the people, who "were more noble than those in Thessalonica." Circumstances rendered it necessary that he should leave this city where he had planted the seeds of divine truth, and he journeyed by sea southward through the Thermaic and Saronic Gulfs, to Athens. Here "his spirit was stirred in him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry," [v. 16] and he began to discourse, as was his custom in other cities, in the synagogues and in the Agora, or most public place of resort, daily. By this means he enlisted the attention of the Jews and devout persons, at first, and afterwards of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers. He, doubtless, while under the feeling of excitement caused by what his eyes saw and his ears heard, uttered some expressions which excited their curiosity. So they induced him to leave the synagogue for a season, and take a position on the Areopagus, that he might in the most public manner make known what the new doctrine was. The native and foreign residents of the city spent their leisure time in hearing and retailing the news, and they undoubtedly supposed they had lighted upon a new subject of speculation, and that this *babbler*, and *setter forth of strange gods*, would add variety to their daily entertainments.

The Athenians have ever been a people of active intellects. They have ever craved knowledge, and delighted to make it known to others. This trait is noted and commented upon by many writers. It still distinguishes those dwelling there today. Their schools are the best patronized of all in the Levant. Hundreds of boys and girls may be seen wending their way through the narrow streets of the city at an hour in the morning when most persons are still enjoying their slumbers; and, in the morning and evening, knots of people may be seen eagerly discussing the latest political or commercial news at the corners of the streets, or in the *Cafés* or *Leschai*, where they as eagerly engage in new themes as those who lived in the time of Demosthenes, who represents them as inquiring in the places of public resort, "What is the news?" And the

fact that the Greeks called all other nations *barbarians*, shows that they were vain enough to believe they were the most enlightened people on the earth.

In this instance, they probably supposed that as the apostle taught "Jesus and the resurrection," he was about to bring in a new god for them to worship, and a new theme in philosophy for them to investigate, which would afford them amusement, if not instruction. Sometimes, however, it was dangerous for a teacher to introduce a new deity into their system of religion, as it proved with Socrates, who was tried and condemned to drink the fatal hemlock, for making this innovation. But it does not appear that Paul was brought to this sacred court as a criminal to be tried, but only as a vender of new ideas, to amuse and entertain them till something "newer," *kainoteron*, should engage their attention. The whole affair, with them, seems to have no element of seriousness in it, only something to gratify their "garrulity and rage for novelty."

"Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' Hill," i. e., in the *middle*, but *upon* the Hill. This is the rough-looking, sombre, lime rock, some fifty feet above the valley, that stands about sixty rods west of the Acropolis, between it and the Hill of the Nymphs. It is the seat of Athenian worship and Athenian justice; it is the place where the tribunal of the Areopagus was held, which was instituted by Solon, and regarded as the most honorable and sacred body congregated for the promotion of truth and right; it is a place held in great veneration by the Athenians, for Mars had his trial here for the murder of the son of Neptune, hence its name. And Orestes was represented by Æschylus as having been tried and acquitted here for the murder of Clytemnestra; and the Eumenides, or the Furies, were supposed to reside in the dark cave that opens down into the northern side of the rock. A flight of eighteen steps on the south side conducts one to the semi-circular ridge where the judges, consisting of the most highly respected men of Athens, used to sit in their judicial robes and pass sentence on the great criminals and decide questions of religion and state affairs. Two seats on each side of the judges were set

apart for the accuser and accused who sat facing one another. A temple dedicated to Mars stood on the summit of the rock, placed there as a reminder to increase the awfulness of the spot. The Agora, the public square where vast assemblies of the people were accustomed to collect in order to take part in the discussions of state, lies here spread out before the apostle as he stands on the judges' platform ready to speak. On the sides of the square stood the public buildings and private dwellings of the principal citizens. Here are the porticoes, the palaces, the places of literary, historic and religious interest. Among the plane-trees are the statues of good men and patriots that were dear to the hearts of the Athenians, deified heroes, and gods peculiar to Athens, and especially the twelve principal deities of Greek mythology, and in the centre of all, the great altar dedicated to the these deities. Somewhere in the vicinity of this square, the exact spot cannot now be determined, was to be seen the painted porch, or cloister, (*Stoa Pœcile*) where Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, was accustomed to meet his pupils, and the garden of Epicurus, the founder of the other sect of philosophers alluded to in the narrative.

Directly in front yawns the mouth of the prison of Socrates, consisting of three rooms cut into the solid rock, with an aperture in the top through which the prisoner was introduced into his gloomy cell. Higher up on the same ridge is the rocky peak of Musæus, where there was seen a fortress erected B. C. 229, by Demetrius Poliorcetes, but where for more than fifteen hundred years has stood a magnificent monument of Philopappus the Syrian, now crumbling to pieces. At the foot of this mount on the south flows the small classic river Ilissus. Turning to the left we behold the abrupt and craggy peak of the Acropolis, two hundred feet above the city. The only access to this citadel is on the side facing the Acropolis, through the lofty Propylæa which was built by Pericles. All this enclosure was filled with mementoes of gods, heroes, and men sacred to the Athenians. It was with peculiar feelings of awe that they gazed upon them. Underneath the cliff in

the dark crevices of the ledge were shrines of Pan, Bacchus, Æsculapius, Venus, Earth and Ceres, while the temple of Victory without wings rose in fair proportions above the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton just within the entrance. Proceeding along toward the summit, we encounter statues of Venus and the Graces, Minerva as the goddess of health, Diana, and Pericles, who did more than all other citizens to fit up and adorn the Acropolis. Within the area on the summit are two temples, the Erectheium, consisting of two parts, erected to the honor of Minerva Polias and of Pandrosa, the first priestess of Minerva, and the Parthenon, a splendid Doric structure, erected to the honor of the virgin founder of the city, Minerva, whose marble columns and walls still resist the ravages of time. Within this temple was Phidias' statue of the goddess, made of ivory and gold. Another statue of her is seen in the Erectheium, which was believed to have fallen from heaven; a third, made of the brazen spoils taken from the defeated Persians at Marathon, with her spear and shield, rose forty feet above the Parthenon, whose roof is just discernible by the apostle as he stands upon Mars' Hill. Gods and goddesses innumerable meet his eye, and the cave of Apollon opens its dark mouth under the walls of the Acropolis, and the awful caverns of the Furies lie near, beneath the identical rock on which the apostle stands, hidden from his sight by a slight elevation of the rock in his rear.

On his right in the distance below appears that gem among sacred structures, the temple of Theseus, filled and surmounted by mythological statues and altars, indicating another seat of Athenian worship, while the gentle slope of the Hill of the Nymphs sweeps around towards the sea. On the brow of the hill, on the right front, is seen the Pnyx, or little tribune, a square platform of rock, on which Demosthenes and other Greek orators were accustomed to address vast crowds of people filling up the open space raised by a high wall above the yawning chasm which separates the two ridges of hills. The loud, surging sea, on whose surface was fought the battle of Salamis, so disastrous to the invaders, between the hordes of

Xerxes and the avenging patriots of Greece, can just be discerned over the ridge behind the Pnyx, while a wider range of view reveals the graceful sweep of the honey-producing Hymettus, Pentelicus, with its inexhaustible marble quarries, the abrupt cave of Lycabettus, overlooking the gardens of Aristotle, the olive groves of Socrates and Plato, watered by the full stream of the Cephissus.

Such is the scene which greets the eyes of the apostle. Evidences of idolatry are witnessed on every hand. Gods, goddesses, temples, altars, dark places of vengeance, mythological creations, such as the hand of architect or the genius of sculptor or painter has nowhere else devised or formed, impress upon his mind most vividly the character of the Athenians as a very religious people. No other place on the face of the earth can be found better fitted to inspire the hearts of the devout Greeks with sentiments of religious reverence and awe than this. All the the influences drawn from the dark mysteries of their religious rites, the dreaded retributions of the avenging Furies, and the stern exactions of the unyielding Fates, seemed fitted to strike fear into their hearts and fill them with mysterious awe. And all these centred in the Areopagus. No wonder, then, that the Athenians, devoted as they were to the worship of "the unknown God," should ask Paul to go there to proclaim his new doctrine concerning God and his regard for the interests of men.

Paul, too, in the meantime, when he beheld such numerous and strange evidences of superstition all around him, and "the city wholly given to idolatry," was deeply moved, and he could not refrain from attempting to change the current of thought and feeling, and teach the people a more excellent way.

II. *The Audience.* Who were there to listen to this importer of new ideas? Doubtless many of the common people of the city, people of different sentiments and characters, moved by curiosity, or some equally trivial motive, were present to see and hear him. A wide space opens before him, so there is room enough for a large multitude; but as the champions of

two prominent sects of Greek philosophers are mentioned, it is for them, doubtless, that the apostle specially spoke. They, too, are the persons who requested him to speak. Their motives for doing this were not of the highest, as they called him "babbler," or trifler, one that speaks without having anything important to say, and "a proclaimer of strange," or foreign "gods," a person, in the estimation of the Athenians, of doubtful character. Nevertheless, their curiosity was aroused because he preached Jesus and the resurrection, and they induced him to go to the Areopagus, and urged him to speak, saying, "May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest is?"

The people here were *very devout*, not "too superstitious," as our received version has it. It is unfortunate that the Greek has been thus translated. The Greek word is in the comparative degree, hence Hackett renders it "more religious" than others. Alexander renders it "God-fearing" or "demon-fearing;" Alford: "carrying your religious reverence very far;" Howson: "your carefulness in religion;" Sawyer: "extremely devoted to the worship of demons." Lange and Noyes: "very devout." The idea of fear is undoubtedly implied in the verb [*deido*,] from which the adjective is derived. This predominated in the religion of the pagan Athenians, which would ultimately lead to superstition.[1] It means very carefully devoted to the worship of the gods whom the people feared. In this sense it does not imply a rebuke to the Athenians, as much as a compliment. They were doubtless "righteous overmuch," because their worship had regard to false deities, yet this fact does not make them out to be destitute of honesty or sincerity of heart. And as confirmatory of this conclusion, Paul proceeds to say, that he found an altar in the city dedicated to "the unknown God," or as Noyes has it, "an unknown God." This better expresses the original Greek phrase, which has no article.

This phrase has occasioned a great deal of perplexity to

[1] Lange in *loco*.

commentators. According to Pausanias,[2] and others, there were numerous altars erected in Athens, and other parts of Greece, to *unknown gods*, but none is mentioned as being dedicated to *a single unknown god*. This has occasioned the difficulty in explaining the passage. To remove this, various theories have been broached: One of the most plausible, is, perhaps, that which supposed Paul to have used the singular for the plural in order to give it more effect, as we say *man* for for mankind. But because Pausanias and Philostratus have spoken of altars erected to *unknown gods*, it by no means follows that the identical inscription in the plural form was to be found on any one altar. It may have reference to the number of the altars, and not to that of the gods. Single altars may have been erected to *an unknown god*, as one whom the people had offended, and who had sent the pestilence, or some other plague upon them as a manifestation of his vengeance. So they, without knowing what particular god they had offended, erected an altar and inscribed upon it, *to an unknown god*. So that Winer's explanation seems the most reasonable, who, speaking as a philologist, says: "It does not necessarily follow that each single one of the altars had the inscription — *agnostois theois*, in the plural, but more naturally that each one separately was dedicated *agnosto theo*, in the singular. But this singular the narrators were obliged to change into the plural because they spoke of all these altars in a collective way. It appears, therefore, that there were several altars in different places in Athens with the inscription *agnosto theo*."[3]

The opinion of some interpreters that the unknown god refers to the Jehovah of the Jews, is hardly worthy of a passing notice. The Athenians, so devoted to the worship of idols, would hardly tolerate an altar in their city dedicated to the

[2] All writers on the topography, religion and social condition of Athens during this period are dependent upon Pausanias, who, in imitation of Herodotus, travelled through the Provinces of Greece, Egypt and Asia, and wrote out the account of his travels from A. D. 140 to 180. This work was called *Hellados Periegesis*, or Description of Greece, and is full and satisfactory, for the most part. It is divided into ten books, the first of which gives an account of Attica.

[3] Quoted by Rev. H. B. Hackett, in the *Bib. Sac.* Vol. vi. p. 348.

God of the Jews, who were thoroughly hated and despised both by the common people and the philosophers. And the statement of the apostle, "Him whom ye ignorantly" (i. e., not knowing) "worship, declare I unto you," requires this. This people, like those of other nations, had a desire for God which they attempted to satisfy by paying their devotions to the pagan deities. But this did not and could not satisfy them. The mind naturally seeks one God, who is endowed with infinite resources so as to be able to succor his dependent children. Such a God alone can supply man's spiritual needs. The thirty thousand gods of the Greek mythology were all imperfect, and could not supply the place of one living and true God, endowed with every excellence. Doubtless the Greeks had in their minds a dim ideal of what they wanted. Paul recognized this and unfolded to them the Christian's God as fitted to satisfy their wants. They knew him not before; Paul sought to reveal him in his complete character unto them. They had no correct and adequate comprehension of the Jews' and the Christians' God. Hence the necessity on the part of the apostle of revealing him to them. They knew not whom they worshipped; and while prompted by the blind sentiment of devotion they were impelled to adore some unknown god, Paul endeavored gently to lead them away from gods that have no real existence to the great Creator, Preserver and Father of all. At the commencement of his remarks then he does not intend to rebuke them, but in accordance with his well-known habit of dealing with men in a conciliatory manner when no important principle is at stake, he praises them for their religiousness, and thus gains a favorable hearing.

But though many of the common people of Athens were there in the Agora to hear the apostle, and it was to them he directed some of his well-timed remarks, doubtless it was chiefly the two classes of philosophers alluded to in the narrative with whom he had to deal and in whose behalf he specially spoke. It was the Stoics and Epicureans who disputed with him and brought him to Mars' Hill, not to put him

on trial in this venerated seat of justice, as some contend, but simply to hear what he would say in behalf of the new doctrine which he had taught in the Agora. These philosophers he addressed, and this makes it necessary to ascertain what their sentiments were, in order to appreciate the propriety of the apostle's language. What, then, did these sects believe?

The earlier philosophers of Greece, like Thales and Pythagoras, and their immediate successors, confined their researches to purely physical subjects. The moral element did not enter into their investigations; this was left to be introduced by Socrates and Plato and their successors,[4] thus illustrating the scriptural process: "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." 1 Cor. xv. 46. The systems of Zeno and Epicurus were essentially moral, but widely different, for while the latter asserted the utmost freedom consistent with enjoyment, and made pleasure the end of existence, the former revolted against sensationalism, advocated a lofty and gloomy spiritualism, and resigned himself to a stern and unyielding fate. Stoicism manifested an utter indifference to human emotion. Loves and griefs, joys and sorrows, should not be allowed to influence men in the least; hence the modern use of the word, implying a stern self-denial, an austere heart, incapable of being moved by the cries of human woe or human joy; pleasure is, in itself, nothing. The Stoics despised sentimentality, and scorned all appeals to the feelings. Pain and death were not to be taken into account in their estimate of life.[5] Heroism consists in putting all such things under the feet. In this respect it stands in direct antagonism to the gospel of which Paul was here the exponent. Jesus deals with men as susceptible of emotion and capable of being moved for good by the recital of human suffering. His unrestrained emotion at the grave of Lazarus and on the Mount of Olives, while gazing down upon the doomed city of Jerusalem, detracts not from

[4] Cousin's History of Mod. Philos., trans. by O. W. Wright. Vol. i., pp. 413, 429. Conybeare & Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Vol. i. p. 366.

[5] Lewes' Biographical History of Philosophy. Vol. i., p. 292.

his manliness. It binds him nearer to our hearts. And the Christian's heaven will not be made splendid and attractive by marble walls and golden streets, merely. Sympathy will be there, and love, the noblest element in the Christian character, will add to its joys; and praise, the soul's divinest employ, will attune the heart of the worshipper.

The Stoics inculcated pride in opposition to the humility of the gospel, inasmuch as they taught that man is dependent upon no being but himself.[6] They believed that the soul is material, and will die with the body, or become absorbed in the great All, and that God himself is the soul of the material universe. In a word, they were pantheists, and as such were peculiarly unfitted to appreciate the sublime spirituality of the gospel and Paul's doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. All things in life are subject to remorseless fate. Piety is submission to it because its decrees are irresistible. Its self-command neutralizes all emotion, and forces men to go through the world like moving automata or senseless statues, unheeding alike the cries of joy and the sounds of woe, which enter so largely into life's experience.

The system of the Stoics in a later age was considerably modified for the better, and approximated nearer to Christianity. It gives us an obscure view of divine Providence in the hymn of Cleanthes.[7] Finding a more congenial soil in Rome, it helped to round out the characters of such men as Cato, Seneca and Epictetus, who were noted for their stern virtues.[8]

[6] "Stoicism is essentially solitary; it is the exclusive care of one's own soul, without regard to that of others; and as the only important thing is purity of soul, when this purity is too much in peril, when one despairs of being victorious in the struggle, it may be terminated as Cato terminated it, by his own hand. Thus philosophy is only an apprenticeship of death, and not of life. It tends to death by its image, apathy, and freedom from passions, and ultimately is resolved into a sublime egotism." Cousin, i. 488–9. Consult also the article on Zeno in Anthon's Classical Dictionary. Lewes gives it a more favorable character, i. 288–291.

[7] Cleanthes was the successor of Zeno in his school of philosophy, at his death, B. C. 263. The hymn is addressed to Jupiter, whom he styles "*Father*," "greatest of the gods," and "Nature's Source."

[8] Merivale, History of the Romans, has a good notice of the later Stoicism. Vol. vi., pp. 190–5.

Still, it was far from being a system adapted to man as a moral being, seeking a Power loving, yet endowed with resources sufficient to inspire the fullest confidence. It could not satisfy his spiritual needs.

Epicureanism, in some respects, was the opposite of Stoicism. It was based on physics, though professedly a moral system. Epicurus was without doubt a good man, and he strove to induce his disciples to seek the pleasures of virtue in preference to vice; but he could not keep them from running into the baldest materialism. Deity had nothing to do with the creation and government of the world. It was formed by a fortuitous combination of atoms; hence "the atomic theory," so called, which has been revived in modern times in the celebrated Development and Darwinian hypotheses. God was a mere phantasm of the mind, having no objective reality: or, if he was self-existent, he kept himself aloof from all the affairs of the world and the operations of nature. Thus the Epicureans were virtually atheists. They regarded pleasure as the chief end of existence, and in spite of the teachings of the founder of the sect, they listened to the cravings of appetite, and the enticing voice of passion, rather than the promptings of duty. Hence they were unprepared to welcome a spiritual religion which was founded on the doctrine of God the Father, who made the earth and all things therein, and determines the times appointed and the bounds of men's habitations; in whom we live and move and have our being. And their theory of the soul's materiality and consequent mortality made the doctrine of the resurrection and man's accountability very distasteful to them. "Thus the gospel met in the garden an opposition not less determined, and more insidious, than the antagonism of the porch. The two enemies it has ever had to contend with are the two ruling principles of the Epicureans and the Stoics,—"Pleasure and Pride." [9]

[9] The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Vol. i., p. 370. Lewes, vol. i., p. 274–80. Cousin, vol. i., p. 429–35. See, too, the article in Smith's Bible Dictionary, Epicureans. Anthon, in his Classical Dictionary, has taken a more favorable view than most writers before his time.

There were other schools of philosophy in Athens at this time, but these two were the prevailing ones. They had little faith in the popular mythology of the times, but they both conformed to it, and thus lent their influence towards filling the temples, supplying the altars, and otherwise promoting the worship of the gods, to which the city was wholly given up. But they did not object to the introduction of new gods to the shrines of their temples, and perhaps they at first thought Paul would aid them in getting up a better system of religion.

Such, then, were the auditors whom Paul was to address. They stood there in the valley below the rocky platform from which he was to speak, eager to hear some new doctrine which might afford them a fresh subject for contemplation and discussion.

III. *Who is the Preacher, and what is the subject of his teachings?*

He is the apostle of the Gentiles, once a rigid persecutor of Christians, but now their most zealous champion and friend. He is a scholar, learned in Pagan and Jewish lore; born in Tarsus of Asia Minor, a city where Greek, and especially Stoical philosophy,[10] prevailed, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, a distinguished Jewish teacher in Jerusalem, he has made himself familiar with the Old Testament Scriptures, the writings of the Jewish rabbis, and the philosophical systems that are received in Greece. He is thus fitted to consider the sentiments of those who are standing before him, and by a just comparison vindicate the superiority of the gospel. He could speak the Greek language fluently, though probably his residence in a distant province of the empire might have given to his accent, style and manner something of a provincial air, at which the refined and fastidious Athenians might have sneered. Still, we do not learn that they were disposed to make any account of this circumstance. He came to Athens wearied with toil and anxiety caused by his disputes and contentions in

[10] Tarsus was the residence of some eminent Stoics, as Zeno, Antipater and Athenodorus, the tutor of Augustus.

Thessalonica and Berea, and doubtless his sad and dejected countenance betrayed his inward feelings, struggling to find expression. But he was bold and full of faith in his cause, and under the inspiration of God's Spirit, with full confidence in his heavenly Father, in whose keeping are the interests of truth, and the destiny of men, he proceeded to speak. What doctrine did he advocate?

We have already indicated some of the points upon which he touched. We cannot, of course, go into a detailed examination of his discourse on this occasion, every sentence of which, as it is reported to us, embodies a new and important truth, affording a suitable text for a sermon. We can only touch briefly upon some of the principal parts.

The apostle here, as on other occasions, adapted his remarks to the circumstances and spiritual condition of his hearers. He deals with them as his discretion and sense of propriety dictate. He does not abruptly and provokingly attack their prejudices, which would inevitably drive them away before he could unfold the positive truths of Christianity, but he commences in a conciliatory spirit, and gently commends them for their zeal in behalf of their religion, v. 22. As evidence of this he informs them that he found an altar in their city dedicated to a god unknown to them, and proceeds to reveal to them, in place of the god whom they ignorantly worship, v. 23, that great and good Being who created all things, and rules in heaven and earth, and says, pointing to the Parthenon, a corner of which could be seen just over the entrance to the Acropolis, "who dwells not in temples made with hands." He is a self-sufficient Being; he needs not man's aid, as he himself gives life and sustenance to all, v. 25. The apostle here rebukes the exclusively national spirit of the Athenians who conceived that they, as native dwellers on the soil, were specially favored of the gods, a refined and happy race — God has made all nations of one blood, and divided them up and assigned to each a specific portion of the earth, and thence he infers the duty of men to seek after him and serve him, verses 26, 27, since in him we live and have our ex-

istence; and he ingeniously confirms his position by reference to the Greek poets, who say, "We are also his offspring." The apostle has in mind, doubtless, the poet Aratus, who was born in Soli, Cilicia, some say Tarsus, Paul's native city, about B. C. 295, who says in his astronomical poem, *Phænomena*, addressed to Jupiter,

All are thy offspring, and the seed of Jove."

The whole poem breathes the true spirit of devotion.[11] Another poet alluded to by Paul was probably Cleanthes, who in his hymn to Jupiter says,

"For thou our Father art, and we thy sons."

This poem is the noblest hymn of all pagan writers, and seems almost divine.[12] Pindar and Pythagoras have also uttered similar sentiments in their "golden verses."

In giving utterance to these sublime sentiments, the apostle combats the atheistic and sensual philosophy of the Epicureans, the pantheism and fatalistic views of the Stoics, and the materialism and polytheism of all who worship idols. Then, perhaps, stretching forth his hands towards the marble and bronze and ivory statues in plain sight before him, he emphasizes his doctrine of God by the practical inference, "Forasmuch, then, as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art, and man's device," v. 28 What a scene this! How must the words of the Christian orator have sunk into the hearts of those idolatrous Athenians, who were surrounded by such evidences of their senseless worship! Yet, up to this point of his discourse, he does not seem to have offended his hearers. He proceeds to say that God has heretofore overlooked their worship of false gods, and their neglect of him, whom they might find and worship, if they would seek him with the true spirit of devotion; but that now he commands and

[11] See Mill's Poets and Poetry of the ancient Greeks, for an account of Aratus and a translation of the Poem to the *Phænomena*, pp. 179–182. Also Bloomfield's *Recensio Synoptica*, where it is given in full.

[12] The *Old and New* for Jan., 1872, has an interesting article on Cleanthes by Rev. Dr. E. Beecher, and the Greek text of his Hymn and translations, by him and Rev. J. F. Clarke. Pp. 62–69, and p. 93.

requires all idolators to repent and forsake their vain worship and turn unto the one true, living God; for he has introduced a new and perfect system of faith, and the period has arrived when he will rule the world in accordance with this system by that Man whom he has ordained as the Lord and Savior of men, of which they had the assurance and the proof in the fact that he has raised Jesus from the dead, verses 30, 31.

This doctrine of man's moral accountability and the necessity of repentance for sin in accordance with the requirements of the gospel, and especially the announcement of the resurrection of the dead, did not fall in with the feelings and prepossessions of Stoics, Epicureans, sceptics and idolators; and while some denied the preacher, others, in a state of suspense, or from regard to the outward forms of politeness, turned away from him with the promise that they would hear him again on this theme. Thus his discourse was broken off, and we have no evidence that it was ever resumed on Mars' Hill, or in any other part of Athens.

The great doctrines of theology, anthropology and Christology which the apostle here first opened to the minds of the Athenians — God, the Maker of the world and the Father of men; Jesus, the Saviour of sinners and the first fruits of those that sleep — are brought out in their beautiful harmony and transcendent excellence. Though rejected by Greek philosophers and heathen idolators, they will ever stand as a monument of the immense superiority of Christianity over the most refined systems of pagan philosophy and polytheistic modes of worship.

The statues of gods and deified heroes have been broken in pieces, and their mutilated fragments are scattered over the enclosure of the Acropolis, buried in the ruins of thousands of years, or melted into forms that have been made subservient to Christian uses; the numerous altars erected to unknown gods have disappeared; the most magnificent of heathen temples have long since crumbled, and are rapidly decaying under the operation of "time's effacing fingers;" ancient Athens, which reached the highest point of æsthetic culture to

which man, unaided by special and divine light from God, ever attained, has passed off the stage of busy life, and mingled with the gods she once so devoutly worshipped. A new Athens, made of fresh marble from the old quarry, has arisen upon the ancient foundations; new temples have been erected, and new altars consecrated, but not to unknown gods. Multitudes throng these temples and bow before these altars, but they worship not a Being whom they know not.

Paul again stands on Mars' Hill and proclaims to willing hearts the hallowed and distinctive doctrines of gospel grace and salvation. His voice reaches us across the waters and rebukes us for our materialistic and sensual tendencies, and warns us to turn away from the worship of false gods, — wealth, ambition, fashion, — and adore only Him who is the Lord of heaven and earth.

Such is the efficiency of Paul's preaching at Athens. Few, at first, were converted, and his sentiments were treated with derision and mockery; yet the truth is marching on through the nations and the ages, and doing its part towards bringing in universal righteousness.

ARTICLE XIV.

The Land-Laws of Moses.

Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews; with an Introductory Essay on Civil Society and Government. By E. C. Wines, D.D., L.L.D., Presbyterian Board of Publication.

WE propose in this paper, with the help of the valuable work whose title is here given, to speak briefly of that fundamental law of the Hebrew Constitution which secured to every native Hebrew citizen equal rights in the soil. The facts will help us to a just estimate of the true character and wisdom of Moses. In Numbers, chapter xxxiii, we have the following:

"Ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families; and to the more ye shall give the more inheri-

tance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less inheritance. Every man's inheritance shall be in the place where his lot falleth; according to the tribes of your fathers shall ye inherit."

To make the object of this law more sure, it was guarded by another which provided that landed property could not be finally alienated, but should return in the year of Jubilee to the original proprietor or his heirs. "Ye shall not sell the land forever; for the land is mine — for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." Levit. xxv: 28. The object of this law was the political and social equality of the Hebrew people; and there never was a more thoroughly agrarian legislation than this. Nothing in Greece, or Rome, or our own country comes up to this.

For the time and for the people, it is not easy to see how a safer law could have been enacted; and the history of other nations, and especially the internal convulsions arising from the struggles between the rich and the poor, the patricians and plebeians, which shook the republics of Greece and Italy to their foundations, show with what wise foresight Moses anticipated and provided against the evils of a rich and powerful landed oligarchy on one hand, and extreme poverty and its attendant dangers on the other. The improvident or unfortunate Hebrew might reduce himself and family to penury and even servitude for a time, but he could not perpetuate a race of paupers and slaves — he could not extend the evil beyond the year of Jubilee. Once in fifty years God, the King and owner of the country, resumes his right and title to the soil, and gives it back again to the family descendants of the original owner.

This law secured to every family in the nation the means of a comfortable independence; and it prevented the evils arising from the extremes of immense fortunes in the hands of a few, and of destitution and dependence as the lot of the many. It equalized the distribution of property, as far as it was possible or desirable to do this. The government showed its equal interest in the whole body of the people from the highest to the

humblest; and no citizen could complain, or charge his misfortunes to its partiality or neglect.

Another important point gained by this law, was the elevation of labor to its true dignity, making it as honorable as it was necessary. Americans are not the only democracy in this respect. Agriculture, honest toil of every sort, was held as respectable among the old Hebrews, as among the people of New England; and more so even, for it was a maxim among them, that "he who does not teach his son to work, teaches him to steal;" and Paul says, out of his Jewish education, "if any man will not work, neither shall he eat." 2 Thes. iii: 10. It is a just remark that "intelligent labor, manly labor, independent labor, labor thinking, acting and accumulating for itself, was the great substantial interest on which the whole fabric of Hebrew society rested."

This law also encouraged patriotism and love of country, and united the whole people as one man in the defence of the country and the government against foreign invasion; and at the same time enlisted every individual in the maintenance of public order, and the supremacy of law. All were alike interested in the tranquillity and well-being of society within, and in the repulse of any attack from without.

Moses had come up from Egypt where he had undoubtedly seen the evil of a different state of things, or rather of an opposite state of things. There the King was sole owner of the soil, and the people held it at his pleasure and were dependant on him, in one sense, for the very bread they eat. They had no land, no farms, no homesteads they could call their own. They had no country in fact; but like the former slaves of our land of liberty were, in fact, themselves and all they had the property of another. The King was all in all, and the people a nation of paupers living on his charity.

But Moses has given his people a direct interest in the country, in the land, as its owners and defenders. There is no standing army as in Egypt, no military caste or class, who have to be supported by a drain on labor; but the people are their own soldiers, when the case requires. Every house and

farm furnishes its own defence. Lord Bacon, one of England and of Nature's greatest men, has a passage in regard to a law of Henry VII.'s time, which is very fitting to our subject:

"This law required, that all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground or upwards, should be maintained and kept up forever, together with a competent portion of land, to be used and occupied with them, and in no wise to be separated from them." "The houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar nor a cottager, but a man of some substance. This did wonderfully concern the might and manhood of the kingdom, to have farms of a standard sufficient to support an able body out of penury; and did in fact transfer as an inalienable possession a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry, or middle people of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Thus did the king sow hydra's teeth, wherefrom, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of the kingdom."

This observation of one of the wisest of men, as well as of statesmen, shows the excellency and political sagacity of the law of Moses, which places the entire population of the country in this relation to its agricultural interests and its national defence. If the English law, which is partial is so wise, and worthy of such commendation; how much more so the Hebrew law, which does in the whole, what the other does only in part, toward maintaining the might and manhood, the welfare and security of the kingdom. Before proceeding farther, however, in this direction, we wish to introduce another law of Moses, which is as follows:

"If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen into decay, thou shalt relieve him, and Thou shalt not lend him thy money on usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase; nor shalt thou take usury of any thing that is lent upon usury; that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all thou settest thine hand to." Levit. xxv. 35.

Now it is well known to those acquainted with ancient history, how the enormous rates of interest exacted by the rich

from the poor, and the consequent rapid increase of debts, embittered the lower classes against their oppressors; and how great the social convulsions in Rome and Athens, leading sometimes to the verge of a revolutionary dissolution of the State. Against this evil the far-seeing legislator of the Hebrews made safe and permanent provision in the law against usury. He forbade not only usury in its bad sense, but all interest whatever on money or anything else lent to a brother Hebrew. A loan was simply a fraternal accomodation, due from brother to brother. Money might be loaned to a foreigner on interest, but not to a citizen. Of course it is to be remembered that one great purpose of the Mosaic Constitution and legislation is to build up an agricultural nation, and not a nation of merchants or traders or warriors.

In passing let us add a remark of the friendly and brotherly feeling displayed in this law in its general spirit and particular details. Even goods to be put in pawn are guarded by restrictions, so that the poor shall not be too hardly pressed in their necessity. Things absolutely necessary to the life and daily wants, were never to be retained over night; as for example, the upper and lower stones of handmills for grinding the corn, and articles of clothing. The raiment of a widow was not allowed to be taken in pledge at all. All this shows merciful legislation looking carefully to the interests of the weak and destitute, one that aimed to cultivate a fraternal spirit and a gentle and generous feeling among the people; and which stands in marked coutrast with all other legislation of that period and a much later one—nay, which may compare favorably with the imprisonment for debt laws of Christian countries; while the inalienable title of every Hebrew to a portion of his native soil, may compare as favorably with our own feeble efforts to secure a homestead to the poor.

Let us return now to the main subject; and so doing we wish to contrast the wisdom and mercy, as well as the political foresight and statesmanship, of this part of the Hebrew constitution, with the Roman policy on the same points, and the consequences resulting therefrom.

On the expulsion of the kings the Roman territory was divided among the people equally, seven acres to each citizen, reserving a portion for public use. As the territory was extended by conquest, new partitions took place; but there was no law like that of Moses preventing the final alienation of the family property; there was no homestead law protecting the unfortunate. Gradually, therefore, the patricians and wealthy classes contrived to get the greater part of the landed property into their hands — the populace growing poorer continually, and the few richer. Of course the poverty of the poorer classes compelled them to borrow money, and to contract debts, getting deeper and deeper from year to year. There was no usury law to protect the debtor as among the Hebrews, and the enormous interest rapidly increasing, made the condition of the masses hopeless and helpless. The debtor who was unable to pay was delivered by law, as a slave, to his creditor, and in chains he was put to the hardest labor, and might be beaten and abused to any extent. Thus a poor plebeian, incurring a trifling debt in the beginning, failing to pay, the interest finally robbed him of all he possessed, and reduced him to the most abject and intolerable servitude.

To such extremity were they reduced at last, that after the expulsion of Tarquin, about two hundred and fifty years from the foundation of Rome, when the war required new levies, the people peremptorily refused the summons of the senate, declaring they had no country and no liberty to defend—they owned nothing, not even themselves—and a foreign yoke could not be more oppressive than that imposed by their own government and the wealthy classes.

A circumstance occurred in the midst of this dispute which exerted a powerful influence, and threw the whole commonwealth into a violent ferment. In the midst of the assembly there suddenly appeared one day, a venerable old man, whose head was white with age, his face pale and haggard, furrowed with anguish, and his whole appearance one of unspeakable wretchedness and degradation. He stood up before the tribunal of the consul, and prayed aloud for mercy against the cru-

elty and oppression of an inhuman creditor. Disfigured as he was, many remembered him—they had seen him in the wars, where he fought with heroic courage, and received many honorable wounds in defence of the republic. He told his story with affecting simplicity. The enemy in an incursion had ravaged his little farm, and burned his cottage, and robbed him of everything, while he was fighting the battles of his country. Bereft of all, he had borrowed a small sum from a rich citizen, in order to buy food and secure shelter. The interest accumulated, and being unable to pay the debt, he had given up himself and two children into bondage. And his merciless creditor had, he said, treated him as the worst of criminals—and then, throwing aside his tattered garment, he showed his back covered with blood from the recent blows of the lash.

As might be supposed, the sight of this miserable sufferer and his simple tale of wrong and cruelty, roused the people to a perfect revolutionary frenzy. The result was, that the army, composed of the people, in solemn procession marched out of the city, followed by the greater portion of the entire populace, and thus abandoned the city, and its defence against a powerful enemy, to the senate and the wealthy classes, to those who had something to defend beside poverty and bondage. This brought their proud oppressors to terms, and the result was that all debts were solemnly abolished by law, the people were allowed a magistrate of their own, and in the end the constitution of Rome was completely revolutionized.

Now contrast this with the peaceful and prosperous condition of the people under the Hebrew constitution. Such a scene could not have taken place in Jerusalem or Judea. There was an equality of condition, a moderate independence among all classes, an inalienable family property, security against a devouring interest, and a general regard for the poor and unfortunate, which forever shut out such scenes of wretchedness and violence. The people of Moses could never refuse to enrol themselves for service in the army, could never abandon the

city, on the plea that they had no liberties, no country to defend. They had—the poorest had an interest in the soil of his country. There was a homestead, a hearthstone for every man, of which no misfortune, no usury, no rich man could finally deprive him or his children. The land belonged to the Lord Jehovah, the king of Israel, and he had given it to them, so that no man could take it away from them.

But we need not go back to Rome for a comparison illustrating the wisdom of the Jewish law, though Rome had a thousand years more than Moses of the world's experience, to teach it how to legislate in this respect. England has added above two thousand years more of experience and progress in civilization, and the present condition of her people contrasted with that of the people of God in the land of Israel three thousand years ago, shows the beneficent provisions of their law, and the divine wisdom of the Lawgiver.

According to Dr. Wines, some years ago Great Britain, with a population of twenty-six or seven millions, numbered less than ninety thousand land owners. In Judea, every man was a land owner. Great Britain has a million and a half of public paupers, or one in eleven. The commonwealth of Israel had no public paupers at all, and has not to this day. The poor are aided and supported by the congregation of the Lord—an example which Christians might study. Great Britain contains fourteen millions of human beings whose utmost possible earnings are only three quarters of what it costs to maintain the inmates of their poor houses — which are supported at an annual expense of thirty-five millions of dollars![1]

[1] The above facts from Dr. Wines date back several years. More recent investigations, however, do not improve the aspects of the case. Mr. Ernest Jones, in a lecture recently delivered in Manchester, Eng., says the number of landholders is constantly diminishing. In 1770 there were 250,000; now less than 30,000, of whom nearly 9000 were in Ireland. Five of the aristocracy, the Earl of Breadalbane, the Dukes of Argyll, Athol, Sutherland, and Buccleugh owned one-fourth of the land in Scotland, twelve men possessed one-half; and half of England belonged to about 150 persons. Out of the seventy-seven millions of acres in the United Kingdom, thirty-four millions seven hundred thousand acres were uncultivated, and although the population from 1851 to 1861 had increased nearly 2,000,000, the agriculturists had diminished by 400,000. The 30,000 landholders receive a clear annual income of $750,000,000!

Of course this vast population are living from day to day on the very verge of pauperism and starvation. And the least suspension of supplies threatens riot and revolution. And yet the wealth of England is probably greater than that of any nation, past or present — and this, while half her population is in daily struggle with hunger and want. One great cause of this lies in the land system, the same that revolutionized Rome — the opposite of that of Moses, which brought such social equality, such pleasant homes, such fertile fields, such general prosperity, such peace and happiness to the people; such security to the government at home, and such ready means of defence against attacks from abroad.

We trust the foregoing has served to show something of the character of the Mosaic legislation, something to increase the respect of the reader for the political knowledge, the statesmanship, and the real wisdom of the Hebrew Lawgiver. The man evidently stands out from all his contemporaries, solitary and alone, like a mountain lifted out of the middle of a plain. There is no other like him anywhere in those times. Nay, a thousand years later, as we have seen, Rome went a little way towards him, but failed because she did only a part, and neglected to guard that with Hebrew checks and balances. And to-day England suffers daily political neuralgia, and the cancer is knawing at her vitals, because she sets at naught the wisdom of Moses in the distribution and entail of her lands.

Since then the wisest nations even of our own time, have failed to discover a legislation equal to the removal of every political and social evil, all honor and reverence to the character and the wisdom of Moses, who more than thirty centuries ago framed a system of laws so well fitted to promote among the people the great blessings of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; who more than thirty centuries ago foresaw and guarded against the evils which oppress the nations of to-day.

GENERAL REVIEW.

Dr. Shedd on the Universalism of Gregory Nyssen — A. D. 370.

It is often a painful experience for the student of ecclesiastical history to come upon passages in the authors he is reading which show either their ignorance or their dishonesty, and realize to him that he cannot safely follow them as guides. And this discovery adds doubly to his regrets when he is not in a position to go to the original authorities, to the writers themselves whose opinions are in discussion. But this is an experience which most students must meet; and, if carefully considered, it will be found that in a majority of cases the mistatements, concealments, and absolute falsifications, grow out of theological prejudice; a desire to establish certain church dogmas on the authority of the early Christian Church, or of the Fathers who lived near to the apostolic age.

We had occasion sometime ago to refer to Dr. Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine" as asserting that "the only exception to the belief in the eternity of future punishment, in the Ancient Church, appears in the Alexandrian School;" and to show the error of the statement by quotations from theologians of the Antiochian School, in which the doctrine of the ἀποκατάστασις or Restoration was avowed in the most plain and positive language.

But without any reference to the writings of the Fathers in question, Dr. Shedd certainly must have read Neander's History of the Christian Church. And this being the case he must have come upon the following passage in Vol. ii. 676: "From *two* theological schools there went forth an opposition to the doctrine of everlasting punishment, which had its ground in a deeper Christian interest; inasmuch as the doctrine of a universal restoration *was closely connected with the entire dogmatic systems of both these schools*, namely that of Origen (Alexandrian), and the school of Antioch."

Now if Dr. Shedd had not himself sufficiently studied the writings of the Antiochian school to know that the doctrine of the Restoration was a logical result of its dogmatic system, (and in that case he ought not to have said anything about it), he should at least have deferred somewhat to the decision of so eminent a scholar as Dr. Neander, and

who, as his History proves, has thoroughly read the text and mastered the thought of the Church Fathers.

However, our present business is not with this statement, but with another equally inexcusable in one pretending to write the "History of Christian Doctrines." In volume ii. 416, Dr. Shedd says, "*Faint traces* of a belief in the remission of punishments in the future world are visible in the writings of *Didymus* of Alexandria, and in *Gregory Nyssa*." Now we will not stay to speak of Didymus, for only a few fragments of his writings have come down to us. Yet even in these there is proof of his Universalism, as the comment on 1 Pet. iii: 22, in which he says Christ accomplished redemption for all rational creatures, "cuncta rationalia"—and again in the following, "Pacificavit enim Jesus per sanguinem crucis suæ quæ in cœlis et quæ in terra sunt, omne bellum destruens et tumultum." See also a quotation in the Ancient History of Universalism.

But with regard to Gregory Nyssen the case is clear, and Dr. Shedd's "faint traces" is without apology, since as Neander states, the doctrine of Universal Restoration "was expounded and maintained by him with the greatest logical ability and acuteness, in works *written expressly for the purpose!*—as for example, in his exposition of 1 Cor. xv. 28, in his catechetical oration, c. 8 and 35, in his tract on the soul and on the resurrection, and his tract on the early death of children."[1]

Now it is manifest that Dr. Shedd had not read these works of Gregory Nyssa; and yet he presumes to offer himself as a historian of Gregory's opinions and beliefs respecting universal redemption![2] Or, if we say he *had* read these originals, then we must also say that he was not sufficiently master of the Greek language to understand their meaning, or that he wilfully misrepresented their meaning, and

[1] See also his History of Christian Dogmas, vol. ii. 413, Bohn's Edition, where he makes similar statements.

[2] Since writing the above, we have looked at Hagenbach, and we strongly suspect that Dr. Shedd instead of going to the original sources, borrowed from the German historian, and made a blunder at that, or something worse. In vol. i. 379, English translation, we find the following: "Some faint traces of a belief in the final remission of punishments in the world to come are to be found in those writings of *Didymus* of Alexandria, which are yet extant. . . . *Gregory of Nyssa* speaks more distinctly on this point, showing the corrective design of the punishments inflicted on the wicked." The verbatim correspondence between Hagenbach and Dr. Shedd shows the source from which he borrowed; but unfortunately for his honesty, or his accuracy, he couples Gregory with Didymus, while his authority specially distinguishes between the two. See also for Didymus, pp. 344, 351.

deceived his readers. In either of these cases is he a fit person to write church history? Be this however as it may, we suppose he can read English, and might therefore have availed himself of the labors of scholars who do understand Greek, and have translated Gregory, and given us an epitome of his views. So that, look at it from what side we will, this attempt to conceal the fact of Gregory's uncompromising Universalism is without excuse. But to make this obvious to all, let us see some of these "faint traces" in the very words of Gregory himself. Commenting on 1 Cor. xv. 28, he says:

"What is the scope of St. Paul's dissertation in this place? That the nature of evil shall finally be wholly exterminated, and divine, immortal goodness embrace within itself every rational creature; so that of all who were made by God, not one shall be excluded from his kingdom. All the viciousness, that like corrupt matter is mingled in things, shall be dissolved and consumed in the furnace of purifying fire; and everything that had its origin in God, shall be restored to its pristine state of purity. When therefore the dominion of sin within us shall be entirely overthrown, everything must of course be subject to him who rules over all, because there can be no opposing inclination in the universe. Now subjection to God is perfect and absolute alienation from evil. . . . It is manifest that here the apostle declares the extinction of all sin, saying that God is all in all; for God will be truly all in all when no evil remains in the nature of things." *De Anima et Resurrectione.*[2]

So thoroughly is this doctrine embedded in his philosophy respecting the negative character and limited power of evil, limited in duration by its very nature, that he taught not only the salvation of all men, but even of the devil.[1] This in fact was a logical necessity of his system, a consequential deduction from his principles. In his *Catechetical Oration* he says the devil

"Assumed a fleshly shape in order to ruin human nature, and so the Lord took flesh for the salvation of man; and thus he blesses not only him who was ruined, but him also who led him to perdition—so that he both delivers man from sin, and heals the author of sin himself."

And now what shall we say of Dr. Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrines" as a guide, an authority, in such matters? What shall we say of his "faint traces" of Universalism in Gregory Nyssen in the face of these facts, these undeniable statements of Gregory himself

[2] Dr. Ballou's Ancient History, from which the extracts are taken. See also Hagenbach, i. 342, 344.

respecting his faith?[4] If he treats all other doctrines from which he differs in the same enlightened, candid and liberal spirit, those who rely upon his volumes for their information respecting the faith of the early Christians, will be wonderfully furnished for the pulpit, for teaching, and for conflict with false doctrines! And those will be equally well fitted for their work who, consulting the originals, and contemporary historians, cannot make a better use of the materials furnished them than Dr. Shedd has done.

Before closing, we wish to show the difference between the meanness of a narrow sectarian and the candor of a philosophical historian, by giving the reader the following passage from the first volume of *Ueberweg's History of Philosophy*, to which we gave so cordial a welcome in our last number. It is a brief but admirable digest of the opinions of Gregory on the point in question:

"From God's superabundant goodness and from the negative nature of evil follows the final salvation of all beings; punishment serves for purification; there will be no place left for evil when the will of God is triumphant. . . . God decrees to sinners severe and long-continued pains in eternity, not because he hates them, nor for the sake alone of punishing them, but for their improvement, which latter cannot take place until the soul has undergone a painful purging from all its impurities. The degree of pain which must thus be endured by each one is necessarily proportioned to the measure of his wickedness. When the process of purification has been completed, the better attributes of the soul appear, imperishability, life, honor, grace, glory, power, and in short all that belongs to human nature as the image of divinity. In this sense the resurrection is the restoration of man to his original state, as Gregory often defines it—*ἀνάστασίς ἐστιν ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀποκατάστασις.*"

The original of this last sentence, in which Gregory makes *ἀνάστασις* or the Resurrection the equivalent of *ἀποκατάστασις* or the Restoration, shows the accuracy of Dr. Ueberweg's rendering, the honesty of the English translator, and the blindness of the man who could see in it only "faint traces" of Universalism. It is clear, too, that Gregory, notwithstanding he believed in the raising of the body, regarded the

[4] We are tempted to repeat of Dr. Shedd's course what Neander says of Germanus' blundering attempt to deny the Universalism of Gregory, that, "As this doctrine stands so closely connected with Gregory's whole system of faith, the denial of it belongs among the worst examples of an arbitrary caprice, regardless of history." Vol. ii. 677. *Note* 4. Even the Orthodox Daille says "the whole of Gregory's Orations are deeply imbued with the pestiferous doctrine in question," and pronounces the attempt to conceal it "a stupid and absurd pertinacity which *will* have it that the ancients wrote nothing different from the faith at present received."

Resurrection as spiritual in its influence, working in the soul a change which restores it to its primal likeness to God, or as Paul has it, "the image of the heavenly." This accords with our own views as set forth in "Theology of Universalism," Chapter vi. on the "Doctrine of the Resurrection."

Washington and Rev. Geo. Richards.

We find in the February *Old and New* a record which furnishes an additional item to the interesting sketch of Rev. Geo. Richards by Dr. Brooks in this number. Mr. Hale gives an account of a pamphlet containing "An Historical Discourse" in two parts delivered Jan. 26th and Feb. 22nd, 1800, being an obituary sermon on the death of Washington, with some six hymns and odes subjoined; a Poem entitled "The Declaration of Independence together with Odes, Songs, &c. adapted to the Day;" an "Anthem composed for Thursday morning, July 4th, 1793;" and finally a Masonic Hymn, and a Dirge composed for the Municipal and Masonic ceremonies, Dec. 31st 1799 — all by Rev. Geo. Richards "ministering to the first Universal Society, Portsmouth, N. H." The "Historical Discourse" fills sixty-four quarto pages, and opens thus:

"*Men, Brethren, & Fathers, of this Society! Fathers, Brethren and Friends of every name!*

"It hath pleased the most high God, 'in whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind,' to remove from this transitory state of existence the first of Citizens, and the best of men, the good, the great, George Washington, Generalissimo of all the armies of the confœderate States of *America*, and General commanding in chief the military powers of the Union."

To the poem on the "Declaration" are appended many *notes* discussing questions of history, biography, natural science and scriptural allusions; including the Bohon Upas, New Testament Greek, citations from the Declaration of Independence, and a prose list of the Signers, though their names were already woven into the poem. The following will show the style of the verse. The goddess of Freedom calls:

"At her command, a WASHINGTON shall rise,
Rule the wild war; or bid the battle cease;
He wills; — the life infuriate tempest dies:
Aloft is seen the rainbow'd sign of peace.
Kings blush, to see their great SUPERIOR move;
And blessing MYRIADS fold him in the arms of LOVE."

Mr. Hale speaks of the skill with which "a catalogue of the civic virtues is condensed into four lines of twenty-eight words, all except four, and all the epithets but two, being monosyllables!" We quote it, with the invocation in the first stanza:

"COLUMBIA, *Virtue, Freedom, Rise!*
And sweep the plaintive chords of woe;
A *Nation's* tears, an *Empire's* sighs
Mourn WASHINGTON, by death laid low.

The *Patriot, Hero, Sage*, combin'd;
The *Good*, the *Great*, the *Brave*, the *Just;*
The *Sire;* and *Friend* of human *Kind;*
Of men the *Best*, of men the *First.*"

Finally we give a specimen from the "Masonic Hymn." The first verse refers "to the general's acceptance of the chief military command in anticipation of a war with the French Republic; the others attempt to conjoin the symbolism of Masonry and the forms of poetry. This union is accomplished at least as successfully as was the rugged task of hymning the names of the signers in the order of their delegations, in the poem first above quoted." Thus sang the Masons:—

"In *War*, in *Peace;* in *War* again,
COLUMBIA'S voice he heard;
A *Master, Brother*, cried *Amen*,
And bowed to ADAMS' word.

His *God-like* course of *glory* run—
Heav'n's ROYAL ARCH sublime,
'Mid *morn's* bright *Star*, and *Light's* full *Sun*,
Enthrone *His* soul divine.

Immortal *Master, Brother*, hail!
Adieu, farewell, adieu;
The *Cassia sprig*, on *Glory's* vale,
Is bath'd in *Virtue's* dew."

Speaking of the poems, odes and hymns generally, Mr. Hale says, "whatever may be said about the selection of forms of thought or figures of speech, these rude poems are crowded to overflowing with a struggle to express such a depth of sorrow, such a sense of loss, such an utter faith in the nobility and purity and goodness of the dead, as could not be reached at all in words; such as prove a real love and reverence, after all possible allowances are made, for which no parallel exists in all our own history, if it does in any other."

Ancient History of Universalism.

Ancient History of Universalism, from the Time of the Apostles to the Fifth General Council. With an Appendix, tracing the Doctrine to the Reformation. By Hosea Ballou 2nd, D. D. With Notes by Rev. A. St. John Chambre, A. M., and T. J. Sawyer, D. D. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. $1.50.

THE appearance of this new and improved edition of the "Ancient History" furnishes us with an opportunity of calling attention to several particulars respecting the subject matter of the work, and the important service it has rendered to the cause of Truth.

It was a favorite argument in the earlier periods of our denominational history, and not wholly gone into desuetude even now, that, "if Universalism is true, it is a marvellous thing that the entire Christian Church should have been ignorant of it for eighteen hundred years, and that it should have been reserved for Hosea Ballou to discover it at this late day."[1] This view of the case was presented from the pulpit, and in controversial pamphlets and papers, and was commonly received among the people. Only a few of the better read and more scholarly in the Orthodox sects knew the shallowness and falsehood of this statement of the question; and *they* mostly maintained what was thought a wise and prudent silence, lest the people should question the infallibility of their teachers, and come to look more favorably upon the supposed new heresy when they learned that it was as old as the New Testament, and had among its advocates some of the most learned and pious of the early Christian Fathers.

Under these circumstances the Ancient History of Universalism seemed called for, and Hosea Ballou 2nd, then in Roxbury, addressed himself to the task. In due time the work appeared, and to the confusion and dismay of all noisy and superficial declaimers, it was seen that the argument so long popular, so long regarded as unanswerable, had no foundation save in the ignorance or dishonesty of those who so flippantly repeated it. The result was that, so far as this method of

[1] Strange that those reasoning thus do not see that this argument shuts off all discovery and progress. The pagans said to the first Christians—"If you are right, then all the world has been wrong from the beginning—if these gods of ours are no gods, then our fathers, and lawgivers, and philosophers, and all the wise and learned of all the ages, have been mistaken; and you alone, ignorant and uneducated, have discovered the truth—a very likely story this!" And so the Catholics replied to Luther, in substance; and so the conceited scholars and academicians of Spain answered Columbus; and so the same class, at first, demonstrated the impossibility of the steamboat and telegraph, and counted Fulton and Morse idle dreamers and enthusiasts; and so the blockhead class generally treat all discoveries and improvements, all truth and fact lying beyond the reach of their pocket telescopes.

treatment was concerned, a "new departure" became necessary, and the line of defence against the Truth was removed back, and reconstructed on new ground. Indeed the reaction was so great that they consented to follow the lead of a prophet, of African descent, who had risen up a little before; and it was now announced that the *new* heresy was *old*, older even than the New Testament—and those who had so recently set their faces against all discovery in the religious realm, astonished the world by finding Universalism as far back as the garden of Eden;—singularly enough, taught by one of the best known and most active and useful members of their own hierarchy, without whom they confess it would be difficult to maintain any kind of order or morality among the masses.[2]

The important information brought to light by Dr. Ballou's investigations, and the indisputable fact that some of the most profound scholars and eminent theologians and bishops of the early Church were Universalists, and openly taught the doctrine in their sermons and writings; and the numerous extracts from their works, given in his History, showing their method of treatment and line of argument, the passages which they cited from Scripture in proof of the doctrine, and their manner of exposition; and the astounding fact that it took *five hundred years* of pagan tendencies, of growing corruption and degeneracy in the Church, to procure the condemnation of Universalism as heresy, and the endorsement of Endless Punishment as orthodoxy —the weapons furnished by this information were of immense service in the battle of the new reformation. A more cautious statement of the argument, an increasing respect for the intelligence, ability and preparation of the advocates of the primitive gospel, and a general inquiry into the authority of the popular creeds, followed as a necessary consequence.

While many thoughtful persons, who had regarded Universalism as a modern invention, sought an explanation of the fact that its beginnings went back so near to the fountains of gospel truth and life; others began seriously to question whether a doctrine held by some of the clearest minds, the best hearts, and most saintly souls of the early

[2] No doubt the doctrine dates back to the point named, as we have shown in a paper on "The Ancient Promise of Redemption" in the *Quarterly* for July, 1865; but, which is not at all strange, in the confusion of their old blunders and new discoveries they have gotten the authorities a little mixed. It is found, not in the *fourth*, but in the *fifteenth* verse of Genesis iii. After a more diligent study of the sacred text they wil we are confident, discover this fact; and also that their ancient friend in black would be little likely to teach a doctrine which proclaims his own defeat and final destruction.

Church, could exert a very dangerous and destructive moral tendency. And so the attention of the public, more particularly of the better informed and educated classes, was little by little called to the subject, and the history, argument, influence and aims of the Universalist Church and its doctrines began to be better understood. And it is but just to say that our present denominational status is due in no small degree to the silent but sure influence of Dr. Ballou's Ancient History; to the new impulse which it gave to the study of ecclesiastical and dogmatic history, and to the cultivation of a larger scholarship among our clergy, as well as to the growth among other sects of a more respectful consideration of our rights and claims as a religious people.

And we believe that no better service can be rendered now to our cause by the pulpit, than a thorough study of this book in connection with Church History, and the reproduction in courses of lectures to our congregations, of all the facts, principles, and lessons involved. Not many of our preachers are so well read in the premises as to be able to dispense with the information and help this volume can furnish them; and sure are we that our congregations generally would be greatly interested and instructed by an able and accurate presentation of the Ancient History of Universalism from the pulpit. The people, Sunday School teachers, and inquirers, all look to the pulpit for this kind of information. They need it, and have a right to expect it; and the preacher who fails to meet this expectation, to minister to this want, is unfaithful to his trust. Such preaching educates the hearers, fortifies their faith, and prepares them to become teachers of others with whom they may have converse on religious questions.

How few of our communion, for example, know the important fact respecting the famous Catechetical School of Alexandria in Egypt, that three of its first and most distinguished Presidents were Universalists. And how few of our clergy appreciate the bearing of this fact upon the probable extent and orthodoxy of Universalism at this early period of the Church — the time of Clement and Origen running from A. D. 190 to 230, The Alexandrian school was the great theological and educational seminary of the Christian Church, and stood in a relation to it similar to that occupied by the Andover Theological School to New England Orthodoxy. Think of the commotion in the orthodox churches which would follow the election of some well known Universalist theologian and preacher to the presidency of the Andover

Theological Seminary! And then imagine, if possible, the frantic uproar which would agitate the entire realm of orthodoxy, if the offence were repeated a second and a third time! And yet this was exactly what was done in the Alexandrian School, and without a word of opposition or protest. Surely if the orthodoxy of to-day existed in any strength at the period mentioned, those having the church, and its ministry, and its youth in their charge, were culpably recreant to their duty.

So of the Universalist clergy — Titus, Bishop of Bostra, A. D. 360; Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, A. D. 378; Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, A. D. 420; Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, A. D. 440. Of course it is a necessary inference from the Universalism of these diocesans, that many of the lesser clergy and multitudes of the people were also believers in the doctrine. With four or five Universalist churches and preachers in Boston, it is fair to conclude that there must be a large number of hearers and worshippers of that faith. The same inference holds good with regard to Bostra, Tarsus, Cyrus, &c.

And there is the more need that our pulpits and books and papers should keep this subject before the people, because even now writers of Church History often ignore or conceal the facts, as far as it is possible to do it. This will be seen by an examination of Harper's "Cyclopædia of Theological and Ecclesiastical History" by Drs. McClintock and Strong, and the "History of Doctrines" by Dr. Shedd. An example from this last work is given in another article of this *General Review*. We trust, therefore, that the suggestion we have made will receive the attention which we think it deserves, and that this new edition of Dr. Ballou's work will call out many courses of lectures on the Ancient History of Universalism.

As regards the additions to the work by the editors, we must say that they are not as numerous nor as extensive as we had hoped they might be. It would seem as if the studies of our own scholars for more than forty years since the first edition, and the many new and elaborate works on the History of the Church and its doctrines by eminent theologians and critics, should have furnished more witnesses to the Truth, and larger extracts from the early literature of the church, than are found in the *Notes*. With the exception of three or four of them no important addition is made to the contents of the work. If the Notes are to be considered as final, or the last gleanings of the field, it shows how thoroughly Dr. Ballou did his work, notwithstand-

ing the poverty of his resources, and the many and great disadvantages attending his first efforts. But we cannot help thinking that something remains still to be said respecting some of the Apostolic Fathers, and Chrysostom, Augustine, John Scotus, the Irish Clement, Probus and others; as well as concerning the Gnostic and Mystic sects, the report of whose opinions, it must be remembered, comes to us mostly from their enemies, or at least those not friendly to them.

But we must bring this notice to an end. The volume ought to be in the hands of all the Universalists in our country; and it would be so if they could only know how much pleasure and information its perusal would afford them. No preacher of our faith can neglect the study of the work without bringing upon himself reproach, and greatly crippling his means of instruction and usefulness. This edition is well gotten up, every way, and the Index is a great gain in the way of ready reference over the ill-arranged "Contents" of previous editions.

The Origin and Primitive State of Man.

This subject, which is everywhere in discussion, is one of profound interest both as a scientific and as a religious problem. It touches the intelligence and the faith of learned and unlearned; it fronts the Bible record with many weighty questions; it affects the dignity of human nature; it challenges the need of a Creator, and the fact of a creation — indeed, it arraigns all the doctrines of revelation, and, claiming for science the infallibility which the Catholic claims for the Pope, sets aside all pretentions of Man to any superiority or supremacy, in his beginnings, over the monkey, or an oyster, or a polype.

We have none of the fears, however, which agitate some minds regarding the issue of these investigations and discussions. Somehow the Bible, Religion, Faith — faith in God and Immortality — contrive to hold their place in the world, in spite of all the speculations and prophecies of the sceptic and scientist, from the beginning to the present time. Man is a religious animal now, religious by nature, whatever he may have been when a sun-fish or zoöphyte; and we have no fears that he will ever outgrow Christianity, or see the time on this earth when he will ask no questions, experience no longings regarding God, Death and the Hereafter. Our faith is not afraid of the light, and counts the truth as of more value than anything else, let it come in what shape it may. We rejoice in all real progress, whether moral,

religious, philosophical or scientific; in all real additions to the sum of human knowledge.

The difficulties with most of the so called scientists, is that they are too impatient, too hasty in their deductions. They gather a few facts, fragmentary, disconnected, and jump at once to the most extraordinary conclusions, conclusions that have no legitimate relation to the premises, and so colossal in character as to set at defiance all reasonable argument. We repeat for their benefit the old saw, "Learn to labor and to wait." Investigate patiently, collect, classify, and decide with caution. Do not be in such a hurry to overturn the Bible, or to break up the ancient foundations on which rests the hopes, the consolations, the faith and courage of so many millions. Do not be so anxious to abandon the work of the investigator for that of the prophet. And remember, if you should establish the fact that man has been on this earth ten thousand, or fifty thousand, years; that he began life as a wild and ignorant savage; or that the method of creation was development from the lower to the higher forms of organization, life and civilization — that you have not thereby demonstrated that God has no place nor office in the universe, you have not proved the sacred books so much useless lumber, nor religion the offspring of human weakness, cunning, and ambition.

The following epitome of some phases of the question, and the brief but pointed answers, are from the "Speakers Commentary," and furnish an example of a style of treatment in which, it will be seen, the popular and critical elements may be combined without injury to either:

"On the question of man's direct creation in distinction to the hypothesis of development, and on his original position as a civilized being, not as a wild barbarian, we may remark: 1. It is admitted, even by the theorists themselves, that in the present state of the evidence the records beneath the earth's surface give no support to the hypothesis that every species grew out of some species less perfect before it. There is not an unbroken chain of continuity. At times, new and strange forms suddenly appear upon the stage of life, with no previous intimation of their coming.

2. In those creatures, in which instinct seems most fully developed, it is impossible that it should have grown by cultivation and successive inheritance. In no animal is it more observable than in the bee; but the working bee only has the remarkable instinct of building and honey-making so peculiar to its race; it does not inherit that instinct from its parents — for neither the drone nor the queen-bee builds or works; it does not hand it down to posterity, for itself is sterile and childless. Mr. Darwin has not succeeded in replying to this argument.

3. Civilization, as far as all experience goes, has always been learned from without. No extremely barbarous nation has ever yet been found capable of initiating civilization. Retrogression is rapid, but progress unknown, till the first steps have been taught. (See Archbishop Whately, 'Origin of Civilization,' the argument of which has been refuted by Sir John Lubbock, 'Prehistoric Man.' Both have been ably reviewed by the Duke of Argyll, 'Primeval Man.') Moreover, almost all barbarous races, if not wholly without tradition, believe themselves to have been once in a more civilized state, to have come from a more favored land, to have descended from ancestors more enlightened and powerful than themselves.

4. Though it has been asserted, without any proof, that man, when greatly degenerate, reverts to the type of the monkey, just as domesticated animals revert to the wild type, yet the analogy is imperfect and untrue. Man, undoubtedly, apart from ennobling influences, degenerates, and, losing more and more of the image of his Maker, becomes more closely assimilated to the brute creation, the earthly nature overpowering the spiritual. But that this is not natural to him is shown by the fact, that, under such conditions of degeneracy, the race gradually becomes enfeebled, and at length dies out; whereas the domesticated animal, which reverts to the type of the wild animal, instead of fading away, becomes only the more powerful and the more prolific. The wild state is natural to the brutes, but the civilized is natural to man.

Even if the other part of the Darwinian hypothesis were demonstrable, there is not a vestige of evidence that there ever existed any beast intermediate between apes and men. Apes, too, are by no means the nearest to us in intelligence or moral sense, or in their food and other habits. It also deserves to be borne in mind, that even if it could be made probable that man is only an improved ape, no physiological reason can touch the question, whether God did not, when the improvement reached the right point, breathe into him 'a living soul,' 'a spirit,' 'which goeth upward' when bodily life ceases. This at least would have constituted Adam a new creature, and the fountain-head of a new race."

In regard to the assumption that the savage state is the primitive and natural state of man, and that civilization is the result of a steady and constant development or progress, many things may be said. Surely, if the human race has been upon the earth fifty or a hundred thousand years, every part and portion of it ought to have reached the highest level of civilization by this time, and not a savage or an undeveloped man be found on any part of its surface. Instead of this, however, savages are to be found in all quarters of the globe; and all stages of civilization exist, and have existed for ages past, side by side with each other in point of time. Most of the learned talk about the

regular succession of the stone, iron and bronze ages has no foundation in fact, and is the fruit of the hasty generalizations and large conclusions from very small premises which we mentioned above.

A writer in the *London Quarterly* for Oct. 1871, has an article on "Flints and their Evidence," which shows careful research, and exhibits *in extenso* the baseless character of much of this scientific pretension and argument. He says:

"The iron age of Palestine in Solomon's day was probably a stone age in Scandinavia; and the iron age of Britain was, till lately, a stone age in the Pacific, and in some islands is so still. It will not, we presume, be doubted that there were savages making flint implements in some parts of Europe, while in Greece Phidias was working in marble and ivory. The succession of terms, palæolithic, neolithic, bronze and iron, has a look of learning, but it represents a fiction. Neither the world, nor any one quarter of it, has ever been so divided.

The course of the human race has not been that of a river, but that of the tides, advancing at one time and place, receding at another time and place. For example, the people on the west coast of Greenland attained to the use of metal. Intercourse with Europe ceased for about three hundred years, and then — according to a statement in *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ* — they had returned to the use of stone."

An equally convincing presentation of the question is made in a well-written tract, issued by the Universalist Publishing House, on the question, "*Have we Outgrown Christianity?*" by Rev. I. M. Atwood, which we heartily recommend to our readers:

"To show how little weight should be attached to the assertion that *mankind* were fearfully degraded four or five thousand years ago, on the strength of the fact that barbarians of a very rude type then existed, let us suppose that some development philosopher, ten thousand years hence, produces the testimony of Livingstone, Baker, Wilkinson, and others, of the nineteenth century, in relation to the ignorance, squalor, and deep degradation of certain African and Indian tribes, and undertakes to demonstrate to the civilized people of that day that the human race in the nineteenth century was a low grade of savages. He would have precisely the same grounds for his argument that his predecessor has to-day. He would leave out of his account, Germany, France, England, America, China, and other civilized States. But so does our development apostle of to-day omit Babylonia, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and India, of former ages."

The argument for a steady and unbroken forward movement in the march of civilization, already alluded to, is not sustained by the facts. If it were so, the world would not be in the condition it is now, and

Egypt and Assyria, Greece and Rome, instead of being where they are, would be indefinitely in advance of England, Germany and France, which were in the barbaric condition when these others were at the summit of their glory. The truth is, the movement has been that of the pendulum, or, as the *Quarterly* writer expresses it, as the rise and fall of the tide, and not the perpetual flow of the river. As Mr. Atwood says, "The Egyptian race and kingdom, whence science arose, where the art of building attained a perfection unknown to modern times, where thirty-six hundred years ago there was a civilization whose monuments are yet the wonder of the world, has been sinking for thirty centuries in intellect, art, government, and religion. The most worthless people on the globe are the descendants of the ancient Phœnicians, Syrians, Greeks, and Romans. A large part of what we now call "the heathen world" was once the garden of civilization."

But the world is improving, man is surely moving forward to something higher and better? Yes, but this is not a necessity, not the result of any special force of his own acting independently of Divine help and pre-arrangement. Take out of the world all the elements of progress which may properly be assigned to Religion, and it would not be so easy a thing as some imagine to prove that individuals or communities would inevitably move onward and upward to the highest levels of civilization.

No one doubts man's capacity for improvement and indefinite growth; and no one thoroughly read in the past history of the race, can well doubt, unless he has a theory to defend, that this capacity achieves its perfect triumphs only when moving along the divinely appointed path of activity. And the difference to-day in the condition of those peoples which accepted Christianity at the start, and those which refused the heaven-proffered assistance, wonderfully illustrates the truth of this proposition. Compare the nations of Europe with the nations of Asia or Africa, in government, and laws, and social institutions, in the arts and sciences, commerce, manufactures, in general enterprise and educational culture. What makes the difference? We answer unhesitatingly, Christianity makes the difference — or at least a large part of it. And what explains the sharp contrast in these particulars in the condition of the Sandwich Islands to-day and fifty years ago? We answer again, Christianity. Blot out all traces of the religion of Jesus from these islands, and all memory of its

teachings, its hopes and encouragements, and less than fifty years will sink them down again into their old barbarism. It is not the human but the Divine force in the world which ensures the continued progress, and the final redemption of man.

Religious World.

The recent action of the Japanese Government in sending young men and women to be educated in this country, in promoting among the people a knowledge of western arts, science and civilization, and the new and important Embassy which has recently visited us, indicate that the inertia of the past is finally overcome, and a forward movement commenced. The bold action of the supreme authority in the overthrow of the ancient and powerful aristocracy known as the Damios is prophetic of an entire change in the political conditions of the country. But the promised new reformation reaches beyond the educational, social and political, into the religious and ecclesiastical status of the Empire. For three hundred years Buddhism has been the established, or at least the favored religion, of the country. But now the priests have been notified that they must enter the army as soldiers, or earn their bread by some kind of labor. The temples are being closed, or occupied by the new government, some as barracks, and others as schools, and the days of Buddhism seem coming to an end.

The present imperial authorities are devoted to Shintooism or Sintuism, the ancient religion of the empire. The chief object of Sinter worship is the Great Sun Goddess, *Tien-sio-dai-sin*, of whom the Mikado claims to be a direct descendant, and is therefore held to be the head of the church as well as of the State. Sinter temples have no visible idols, but the walls are inscribed with sentences from the sacred books. A mirror is placed on the altar as an emblem of the purity required of the worshippers. The chief doctrines are, 1. Inward purity. 2. Outward purity, or abstinence from impure actions. 3. Observance of holy festivals and days. 4. Pilgrimages to holy places. 5. According to some, acts of mortification to the body. The form of worship is to wash in the font, pray opposite the mirror, and throw a few "cash" into the money box.

The literature of the Japanese includes original works in history, science, poetry, fiction, encyclopedias, translations of European books, and the whole circle of Chinese Confucian classics.

—"A valuable relic of antiquity has, says the *Levant Herald*, lately been discovered in the grounds of the Russian pilgrims' monastery outside the walls of Jerusalem. It is a monolith cut out of a single block and only half complete. From a description in Josephus, it is believed to be a column intended for the decoration of the ancient Temple of Solomon; but that, as the column split while it was being worked, it was left unfinished, the lower part of it remaining in a rough, unhewn state. The monolith, which is about thirty-nine feet in length by six in diameter, will certainly prove an object of keen interest to archæologists; and it is to be hoped that it will be retained in a place of safety."

—The project so long discussed, of the return of the Jews to Palestine, seems to be assuming some tangible shape in Germany, and a small knot of Rabbis in Frankfort have become very active in the distribution of printed matter throughout Europe to the end of leading the scattered children of Israel back to Palestine, where a Jewish kingdom shall be again established. Journals friendly to Judaism declare that influential moneyed men in the old imperial capital—the head quarters of German Jews—have given it their open and substantial support.

—The *London Times* announces the discovery of a second Moabite stone, 36 inches by 18 inches, with six lines of inscription. A competent scholar is said to have translated the characters, "almost identical in form with the Sinaitic letters," with the following result: "We drove them away — the people of Ar Moab at the marsh ground. There they made a thank-offering to God their king; and Jeshuren rejoiced, as also Moses their leader." If any one will compare these words with Numbers xxi. 13–15, 21–30; Joshua xiii. 9, 15, 16, he will be struck with certain coincidences; and he will think it quite possible that "Ar Moab at the marsh ground" is the same as "the city that is in the midst of the river," or on the delta formed by the two rivers which flow into the Arnon.

It is claimed that the stone was found among the ruins of Medeba, seven miles south of Heshbon, and fifteen miles north of Dibon. The characters will soon be examined by competent scholars, and the history of the stone fully investigated.

—M. De Tassy, a Roman Catholic and an eminent Oriental scholar, speaks in highest praise of the Protestant missionaries in India, and of the beneficent work they are doing. This is something new for a

Catholic; but evidently in this case the man and the scholar are more than the theologian. He says that the Hindoos, little by little, are yielding to their appeals, and the pagodas of their thousand fantastic gods are crumbling. Already eighty-seven thousand natives have become members of the English church alone, and among the converts are men of high distinction. A large number of native pastors and helpers have been ordained from time to time and are actively prosecuting the work of evangelization among their fellow countrymen." He deems it a great advantage that the native young men in training for the ministry at the Protestant seminaries do not have to learn Latin, as those do in the Roman Catholic training schools. He complains that the natives are kept out of the priesthood because they are ignorant of the language of the liturgy. As in the first ages of the church, so now, each nation, in his opinion, should be allowed to have the liturgy in its own language.

—A mistake regarding the length of one of the papers in this number is the editor's excuse for appearing in the body of the QUARTERLY; and also for the postponement of several Book Reviews, the "Land of the Veda," "Radical Problems," "The To-morrow of Death," "Three Score Years and Beyond," &c.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The History of Greece. By Prof. Dr. Ernst Curtius. Translated by A. W. Ward, M. A. Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Eng., &c. Revised after the last German edition, by W. A. Packard Ph. D. Professor of Latin in the College of New Jersey. Vol. II. Charles Scribner & Co. $2.50.

Undoubtedly this is to be the standard and authoritative History of Greece for a long time to come. Indeed we do not see how any future historian is to add much to the results attained by the extensive researches, the ripe scholarship, and the philosophical impartiality of Prof. Curtius. The skill with which he groups the leading events and influences which entered into the growth and development of this remarkable people; the clear comprehension with which he seems to grasp the various conflicting and harmonizing forces which at last, for a time, flowed into unity, and then shot out again into antagonisms, hostility and general wreck; and the sound judgment with which the

various elements working up into these results are set in order and their action measured, are sufficient proof that Dr. Curtius has thoroughly studied and mastered his subject in all its phases.

We have been particularly impressed with this feature of the work in reading chapter IV. of this volume, in which he treats of the influence of the Delphic oracle in promoting the cause of unity and nationality. He credits the early priesthood with a severe morality, a largeness of intellectual culture, a breadth of political vision and wisdom, and a lofty patriotism, which we have not been accustomed to associate with them, and which is not at all in agreement with the popular view; but which, certainly, our author has made it reasonable to believe. We speak particularly of Delphi, though, the other oracles were mostly under the same general direction—excepting always that of Jupiter Ammon, in the desert, which had a wisdom, reputation and influence all its own.

The narrative of the Persian Wars, the Growth of Athens, the brief but animated sketch of the architectural wonders of this beautiful city, the description of the sublime courage and patriotism of its people, the account of the literature and literary men of Greece, of the Areopagus, of Themistocles, Pericles, Miltiades, Aristides, and other prominent personages, constitute some of the attractive features of this second volume of a work destined to take the front rank among the great histories of the time.

2. God with Us; or the Person and Work of Christ, with an Examination of the "Vicarious Sacrifice" of Dr. Bushnell. By Alvah Hovey, D.D., President of Newton Theological Institution. Gould & Lincoln. $1.50.

Not without claims to attention, though repeating the old arguments for the Trinity, and citing the same passages with the same expositions, which have always been put forth in that wearisome controversy. Dr. Hovey, however has distributed his subject in a way to meet all the most important phases of the question fairly; and he does not shrink from the objections legitimately arising in the discussion. He pays his respects to Beecher's Life of Christ, and his pet theory respecting the person and nature of Jesus, and clearly exhibits its weak points. But the most interesting part of the book is the scholarly Review of Bushnell; and we really think that his sharp criticisms challenge a reply of some sort from the author of the "Vicarious Sacrifice." Dr. Hovey is a devout student of the Scriptures, able and learned, and writes in the spirit and style of a Christian gentleman.

3. Oldtown Fireside Stories. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. With Vignette of "Sam Lawson the Story-Teller" and Thirteen Illustrations by Darley, Hoppin & Harley. J. R. Osgood. $2.00.

These stories are amusing, and, more than this, are capital photographs of New England life one hundred years ago, or less. They are *fireside* stories, and give us bright and pleasing pictures of country

life in "ye olden time;" and of the kind of superstitions and legends that were current then at the fireside, and made the staple of its talk; not only among children, but also among the elders when neighbors came in of an evening, and the apples and nuts and cider went round. We confess that we listen to Mrs. Stowe's hero not without a jealous feeling of his superiority to the Sam Lawson of our childhood, especially in the ingenuity with which he weaves in his moral in order to suit his story to the tone of the Puritanic atmosphere. The following description reminds us of some sermons we have heard, which date this side of the venerable "Parson Carryl's" efforts:

"He was gret on texts, the doctor was. When he had a p'int to prove, he'd jest go thro' the Bible, and drive all the texts ahead o' him like a flock o' sheep; and then, if there was a text that seemed agin him, why, he'd come out with his Greek and Hebrew, and kind o' chase it 'round a spell, jest as ye see a fellar chase a contrary bell-wether, and make him jump the fence arter the rest. I tell you, there wa'n't no text in the Bible that could stand agin the doctor when his blood was up."

4. The Divine Tragedy. By H. W. Longfellow J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

If this work were from an unknown author, it would scarcely be noticed, save as a repetition of the Scripture record, mostly in the very words of Scripture, with here and there an utterance which might reasonably be supposed to have come from certain of the actors in the Tragedy. Hence the excessive laudations of the *New York Tribune* and *Harper's Monthly* only show the glamour of a great name, and the power it has to make even born critics see what, under other conditions, would be invisible. One thing, however, this poem establishes—the wonderful rythm and musical cadence of our English translation, and the difficulty attending any attempt to train the ear to other phrase. It is surprising to see how little change in words or construction is necessary to run it into the easy and measured verse of the poet. And it is the sweet and tuneful flow of so large a portion of the sacred books which will ensure the permanency of King James' translation; all others being used only as helps, or corrective commentaries.

But, regarding this poem, are not the words of Christ as well in the Gospel of Matthew, as when exactly repeated in the verse of Longfellow? And are they not as sweetly musical in the New Testament as in the Divine Tragedy? And is the dramatic element greatly increased or intensified by distributing the narrative into parts prefaced with the names of the real or supposed speakers? And is the character or action assigned to Judas much different from that given in the "Roman Lawyer?" or are his anguish and death described with more tragic power?

No one honors Longfellow more than we, and no one *can* thank him more cordially and gratefully for much that he has written; but we cannot discover in this poem the marvellous exhibition of dramatic or poetic genius which some of our contemporaries seem to find.

5. The Earth; A Descriptive History of the Phenomena of the Life of the Globe. By Elisee Reclus. Translated by the late B. B. Woodward, M. A, and edited by Henry Woodward, British Museum. Illustrated by 230 Maps inserted in the text, and 23 Page Maps printed in colors. Harper & Brothers. $5.00.

This noble volume will be a surprise to that class who think they have learned from geographies, magazines and newspapers all that it is important to know respecting our planet and the wonderful changes, and constant activity of the matter composing it. And even well read persons will be pleased to see what fifteen years of diligent study and scientific exploration on the part of its author have accomplished.

We cannot say too much in commending it to the study of all inquiring minds, all who are desirious of knowing the physical character, changes and present condition, and we might all most add the future prospects, of the globe they are living on. One thing seems certain, that our poor little planet is not yet finished, completed, and settled down into undisturbed quiet. It is still passing through manifold revolutions. Land and Water are in perpetual conflict. Constantly, slowly, noiselessly, these changes go on, though sometimes, and not unfrequently at certain points, partial changes come with a sudden spasm or shock; and sometimes with a convulsion that shakes vast areas of its surface, to say nothing of the terrible agitation in the interior abysses. We should be glad to give the reader portions of the work where these mutations are recorded, but we should not know where to begin or end. Part IV, on "Subterranean Forces," is a Cyclopedia of interesting facts on this point. In it the reader will see that the earth's surface is never at rest, rising here and falling there, the landing lifting out of the water on this side, and sinking under it on that side; and in some regions oscillating like a pendulum, whose beats are measured by the centuries.

There is, for example, a gradual upheaval of all the coast of South America from Chiloe to Callao, and a corresponding depression of the eastern coast; and thus losing on the east and gaining on the west, it seems to be slowly making its way through the Pacific in a western direction! The eastern coast of North America is marked by an irregular movement; the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and Florida slowly upheaving, while along the Carolinas, and the New Jersey and Long Island coast, and as far as Cape Cod, the shore line is gradually sinking. So the coasts of Norway and Sweden, to the north, are steadily and constantly rising, while to the south they are sinking; and the same is true of Greenland. In fact, the whole mass of land towards the north pole, stretching through 160 degrees of longitude, seems to be in process of upheaval by some mighty internal force.

This is only one fact showing how continually the boundaries of land and water are changing; in some places sinking bluffs, promontories, towns and towers underneath the waves: in others lifting up large portions of the bed of the sea, and leaving what were once seaports and shore towns three and four miles inland. The chapters on earthquakes and volcanoes, on lakes, rivers, snows, glaciers, and the

circulation of the waters, surface and subterranean, are rich with new and curious particulars in the same direction. The wealth of information is such as to make us despair of getting into an ordinary notice any tolerable description of it. We venture to say that there never were 567 pages before so closely packed with matter equally important and pleasing, both to learned and unlearned. And the numerous maps and diagrams are constructed so skilfully, and colored so accurately, that they are, what is not always the case, real helps to an understanding of the author's theories and facts.

We have only room to add that M. Reclus, while clearly stating Laplace's theory that the whole planetary system was flung off from the sun, rejects it as unsatisfactory, and attended with too many serious difficulties. As a consequence he rejects also the theory that the whole interior of the earth is an ocean of fire, and he presents his objections to it in great strength. He seems disposed also to set aside the hypothesis that earthquakes are caused by volcanic forces. From these features of the work the reader will see that he is no copyist, but an original observer and thinker.

6. *Lange's Commentary.* Vol. IV. of the Old Testament: containing *Joshua*, by F. R. Fay, Pastor in Crofeld in Prussia. Translated, with additions, by George R. Bliss, D.D., Professor in Lewisburg University: *Judges* and *Ruth* by Paulus Cassel, D.D., Professor in Berlin. Translated, &c., by P. H. Steenstra, Professor in the Protestant Divinity School, Cambridge. Charles Scribner & Co. $5.00.

We have so often spoken of this great Bible-Work and shown what various helps it furnishes to a conscientious, intelligent, truth-seeking, and even critical study of the Scriptures, that there seems little left for us save the announcement of the new volumes as they appear. We notice that in this volume the "Homiletical and Practical" portion is much reduced, and the space more wisely and profitably employed in exposition of the historical and textual difficulties. We cannot express entire satisfaction in the results of some of these attempts, though perhaps the success is as great as can be expected.

The "Standing still of the Sun and Moon," Joshua x, is treated with critical skill, good judgment and candor. The account "is no more to be understood literally, than the fighting of the stars against Sisera, or the melting of the mountains, or the skipping of Lebanon, or the clapping of hands by the trees, or the bowing of the heavens." It is a poetical quotation from the Book of Jasher or "The Upright." The entire note of six pages is extremely valuable for its critical information and its history of the interpretation of this interesting passage. The notes and expositions relating to Sampson's career as Judge in Israel throw some of the much needed light on the very difficult passages of that extraordinary narrative. The Introductions to Joshua and Judges are freighted with the best fruits of study, and furnish the ground-plan and principles on which the interpretation of the various histories proceeds. And we cannot but express here our cordial satisfaction for the numerous and truly useful additions which

the Translators have made to the labors of the German authors, and the manner in which they have neutralized some of their airy speculations even in the field of exegesis. In this respect we think it one of the best edited volumes of the series.

We have said nothing of that sweet idyl, the Book of Ruth; but the Commentary and Translation are from the same hands which have done so much for the Book of Judges. The notes are full of curious information respecting the manners and customs of the age in which the charming drama was lived out, illustrated also with those of other times and peoples; and the whole narrative is aglow with the pleasant light thus let in upon it, and fragrant with the breath of harvest fields.

7. The Semi-Centennial Memorial of the Universalist Church, Roxbury, Mass. Universalist Publishing House. $2.50.

As tasty and beautiful a specimen of book-making as has lately come from a Boston publishing firm—whether we regard paper, type, binding or engraving. The addresses, including the poem, on the interesting occasion which called them forth, are as good as, perhaps better than, the average talk at such times. The six portraits of the pastors are admirable likenesses, and as specimens of art are honorable alike to painter and engraver.

We cannot help saying that we like the manly, cordial and Christian tone of Dr. Putnam's address; because we think it is all it seems to be in his case. It is just, sensible and discriminating, and not mere verbiage and compliment—and we entirely agree with its positions.

8. Christian Theology and Modern Skepticism. By The Duke of Somerset, K. G. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

This book seems to have been written for two purposes—*first*, to inform the world that the Duke of Somerset understands Latin; and *second*, that the Duke of Somerset does not think much of the Christian Scriptures as authentic history. Having learned these important facts, the world will require a vacation, a season of rest from its anxieties respecting the religious status of this Knight of the Garter. But seriously, the book is a very commonplace affair. There is nothing special about it, except that it is by the Duke of Somerset. It has not a single new argument against Christianity; it puts not a single new weapon into the hand of the sceptic. The world, whether with or without a reason, expects something of a duke; we would therefore kindly suggest that our noble friend should either give up his dukedom, or give up writing books against Christianity.

9. *The Student's Ancient History.* The Ancient History of the East, from the earliest Times to the Conquest by Alexander the Great. Including Egpyt, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Asia Minor and Phœnicia. By Philip Smith, author of the "History of the World." Illustrated. Harper & Brothers. $2.00.

A most useful work embodying the fruits of all late researches, particularly in the department of hieroglyphics and cuneiform litera-

ture. We can most cordially commend the book to all our readers; but it will be found especially useful to two classes—those who cannot well afford the purchase of the larger and more costly works of Layard, Rawlinson and others; and those who, while they cannot spare the time to read these voluminous and elaborate works, still wish for some book that will give them in a condensed form all the authenticated facts of recent exploration and research. For such no better work can be found. If every family in the land would devote two or three evenings each week to reading it in course, it would furnish both education and an attractive entertainment. We shall give our readers in our next issue an opportunity of judging of its character in the *General Review* on the "Assyrian Library."

10. Moses and Modern Science. By Rev. G. S. Weaver. Cincinnati: Williamson & Cantwell Publishing Co. $1.00.

This neat little volume is a popular presentation of the subjects legitimately coming under the well-chosen title—such as the Order of Creation, the Rudimental Earth, Light, the Firmament, the Dry Land, the Animal Ages, the Geologic Changes, Man, Eden, The First Transgression and its Punishment, the Flood, &c. They are all treated in a way to show that Mr. Weaver has given them much thought and study; and he endeavors to prove that, while there have been many hasty generalizations and groundless assumptions in regard to the supposed contradictions between science and Moses; they are really, when the facts of the one and the records of the other are truly interpreted, in substantial agreement.

We are much pleased with the general treatment, with most of the interpretations, and especially with the frank and liberal spirit in which the author meets the difficulties and objections of the reader. The book is one which we can heartily commend to all; but especially do we advise the teachers of our Sunday Schools and Bible Classes to procure it. It will be of great assistance to them in furnishing answers to the many questions which arise in the study of the Mosaic record.

11. Wilfrid Cumbermede. An Autobiographical Story. By George Macdonald, author of "Robert Falconer," &c. With Fourteen Illustrations. Charles Scribner. $1.75.

What George Macdonald writes everybody reads, without regard to the creed of author or reader. And so this book will do a good work among many thousands outside of our church. It will especially emphasize one fact—the crushing and destroying influence exerted by the popular creeds on a certain class of minds and hearts, through their shocking misrepresentations of the character of God and the aims and results of his government. Charles Osborn driven by his *reverend* father's teaching and cruelty—cruelty born of his theology—into atheism and suicide, is not a fiction but a fact, a fact many times repeated, as not a few can testify. And the constant gloom and sor-

row of Mary, and the severe struggle with doubt and despair, from which at last he struggled into light and freedom, are a common experience, the natural fruit of a blind belief that Calvinism and Christianity are one.

We wonder if George Macdonald has not himself fought out this battle with unbelief, and if this book is not really so far an autobiography? If not, we hardly see how he could put so much feeling into the narrative; or how his analysis of heart and soul, of the doubt and bewilderment, the hope, and desolation, and conflict, and final victory through faith in a God of Infinite Goodness as the only solution of the problem, could be so subtle and accurate. We are glad that it has the advantage of the wide circulation of *Scribner's Monthly*, and we welcome it in book form with the hope that it will find place in every orthodox family in the land.

We would remark in closing, that if the illustrations are accidentally left out in future editions, the book will not probably suffer thereby.

12. Recollections of Past Life. By Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M. D., F. R. S., &c., President of the Royal Institution of Great Britain: Physician in ordinary to the Queen. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

Autobiography is a difficult species of writing, but the modesty, frankness, and agreeable conversational style of these Recollections, as well as their pleasing information regarding prominent personages of the last sixty years, of whom every one wishes to know something, make this one of the most entertaining books of the season. And remembering that the author is nearly eighty-four years old, has travelled extensively, moved in the best society, and been familiar with the most distinguished persons in Europe and America, it is not surprising that nearly every page is dotted with anecdotes and reminiscences of Prince Albert, Napoleon III., Ali Pasha, Wellington, Palmerston, Lord Aberdeen, Talleyrand, Murat, Humboldt, Bunsen, Macaulay, Sydney Smith (his father-in-law), Madame De Stael, Joanna Bailey, Mrs. Somerville, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Rogers, Moore, Edward Everett, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, President Lincoln, Seward, &c. How delightful to listen to the talk of an old man who has an exhaustless store of anecdote and story of such celebrities. Next to this is the reading of this book, in which he seems almost personally present to the reader.

13. Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets and other Old Testament Characters from Various Sources. By Rev. S. Baring Gould. Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," &c. New York: Holt & Williams. $2.00.

The Orient abounds in legends regarding personages whose history is given in the Old Testament, and this volume is a collection of the most curious, amusing and suggestive gathered from various sources, Jewish, Persian, Mohammedan, Cabalistic, Rabbinic, &c. It is full

of learned lore in this respect, and the vast amount of rare and unique matter, of quaint and preternatural superstitions, gathered up in these pages, will excite the wonder of the reader, and abundantly illustrate two points, at least: 1st, the inexhaustible fertility of the oriental mind in this direction, and the grotesque and fanciful character of its creations—2nd, the infinite difference between history and legend or myth. And we would specially commend to our readers the study of these extraordinary stories for this very reason. It is precisely here that this volume will be greatly useful and edifying.

A comparison of the simple, direct and unadorned narratives of the Old Testament and these distorted, extravagant legends, with their dramatic dialogues, silly repetitions, endless details, and ridiculous impossibilities, cannot fail to illustrate the sharp contrast between fact and fiction, between one who tells what he sees or knows, and one who invents what he tells. We welcome the book for the good work it will do in repelling the charge of legend brought against some of the Old Testament narratives: and in helping those who have been troubled by these charges, and the supposed learning of their authors. A little study of this work in connection with the Jewish Scriptures will soon enable them to discern between these absurd fables and the honest, unpretending narrations of the sacred records; and to decide which is history and which fiction.

14. Yesterdays with Authors. [The "Whispering Gallery" of the *Atlantic.*] By James T. Fields. James R. Osgood & Co. $2.50.

A book that will be read with ever renewed interest, from generation to generation, as long as the English language is spoken, or the world can appreciate genius, a loving heart and a generous faith in human nature. Omitting all mention of Pope, Thackeray and Wordsworth, and of Miss Mitford, whose letters are a fresh contribution to the volume, we have only this to say now — No matter how many biographies of Dickens or of Hawthorne may be written, this book, which lets us into the inner sanctuary of their being, through letters written in the abandon of friendship, will still hold its place, and be the welcome companion of all who delight to see genius in the *dishabille* of a confidence which has no fears and no secrets.

We congratulate Mr. Fields that he has been able to weave together with these letters, in each case, so much of his own, as to make a narrative of intense and tender interest. He brings us into closest sympathy with his subjects, and we hope with them when they hope, we are despondent with them when they falter or are in doubt, we are exultant with them in their grand triumphs; and when Death reaches out his skeleton hand and draws them within the shadowy valley, and shuts the gates against our eager following, while we rejoice for them that they have rest at last, we sorrow for ourselves as bearing the burden of a great personal bereavement.

15. Father Taylor, the Sailor Preacher: Incidents and Anecdotes of Rev. Edward Taylor, for over Forty Years Pastor of the Seaman's Bethel, Boston. By Rev. Gilbert Haven and Hon. Thomas Russell. Boston: B. B. Russell. $1.50.

Who has not heard of Father Taylor, of his marvellous eloquence, pathos and wit; of his withering sarcasm, and terrible denunciations of sin, his singular power over the most reckless and abandoned of the sailor tribe, the multitudes of refined and educated persons, Americans and Europeans, who used to crowd the Bethel to listen to the astonishing old man as he poured out torrents of tropes, figures, metaphors, poetry, anecdote, narrative, exhortation, tearful entreaty, loving sympathy, all expressed in the quaint dialect, and saturated with the salt air of the sea?

This volume is a collection of his sayings and doings, and of such anecdotes and memories of the wonderful sailor preacher as have been preserved by those who heard him and knew him. Some of them, we think, might have been omitted without prejudice to the book, especially those where neither their piety nor their wit demands remembrance. The volume needs judicious editing — and in future editions we think two or three assertions that Father Taylor was a good Methodist, and always true to his Church, will be sufficient in proof of what no one has ever questioned. But, as every one knows, the old saint's heart was a good deal larger than his creed, and when his Christianity was under full canvass his Methodism was only a jolly-boat astern following the brave ship, sometimes at the end of a very long line.

BOOK NOTES.

Aunt Jo's Scrap Bag, My Boys, &c. By Louise M. Alcott. Roberts Brothers. $1.00. The New Year's Bargain. By Susan Coolidge. Illustrated. Roberts Brothers. $2.00. [It seems superfluous to say any thing more of a book by Miss Alcott than that it is ready for delivery. However, we report some small folks we know as having decided that it is "elegant." And similar testimony, from the same quarter, as well as from older heads, leads us to the conclusion that the author of the "New Year's Bargain" with its stolen sands of Time, and the Months compelled to tell their stories to win back the lost hours and days from the bewitching children, is likely to prove a dangerous rival to Miss Alcott in the art of story-telling. Ah, what a blessed art it is to be able to interest, inform, educate, and direct into paths of safety and peace, thousands of young minds and hearts, and ever after to be followed with grateful memories from them and their children's children. We think such, if any, are to be envied for their great gifts in this respect—but let them not forget the Parable of the Talents.]

A Compendious Grammar of the Greek Language. By Alpheus Crosby. Woolworth, Ainsworth & Co. [A work which has reached *forty-four* editions, as is the case with that of which this is an abridgement, needs no commendation. The present treatise omits only the more theoretical portions, and such forms and constructions as the scholar is little likely to meet in his early studies, together with the unnecessarily multiplied examples. We are sorry, however, even for the sake of accuracy, to lose our old friends *μοῦσα, τύπτω*, &c.]

Appleton's Handy-volume Edition of Dickens. With Illustrations. David Copperfield. 75 cts. [For the price, decidedly the cheapest, the handsomest, the most convenient edition of those wonderful books yet issued in the country. Speaking of his

literary children, Dickens says, "Like many fond parents, I have in my heart of hearts a favorite child—and his name is David Copperfield." And now, since the publication of Forster's volume, we know the reason—David Copperfield is Charles Dickens.]

The Mystery of Orcival. Translated from the French of Emile Gaboreau by George M. Towle. Holt & Williams.

"Have we outgrown Christianity?" By Rev. I. M. Atwood. Universalist Publishing House. [The author has given us an able and satisfactory answer to this question; and we call attention to it as a clear and spicy statement of the flippant and shallow talk—not argument—on this subject current among the "prophets." We have quoted from it under another head.]

Christ and His Church. Two Sermons delivered in the Church of the Messiah previous to his Withdrawal from the Unitarian Denomination. By George H. Hepworth, Minister. D. Appleton & Co. [In the first sermon there is more fancy and feeling than logic and exegesis; in the second more truth than compliment, though the truth is spoken in a manly and kindly spirit. We do not see how our Unitarian brethren can well deny what is said on pages 31–37. We write this sorrowfully; but we believe that Mr. Hepworth's statements will be received by the world generally as a true presentation of the case. If it be not so, we can only say that with all their educational culture they ought to be able, by this time, to speak and write the English language with sufficient precision to make themselves understood.]

Bits of Travel. By H. H. J. R. Osgood. $1.50. [Bright and sparkling, full of animated descriptions, of piquant and amusing talk, and pleasant and truthful pictures of places and characters to be met in European travel; and though you have been over the ground twenty times before, if you begin to read these "Bits," you are pretty sure, like Oliver, to "ask for more."]

The Infinite and the Finite. By Theophilus Parsons. Boberts Brothers.

Light on the Path of Holiness. By Rev. L. D. M'Cabe, D. D. Carlton & Lanahan.

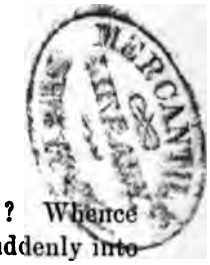
Righted at Last. A Novel. With Illustrations. D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

Jesus Christ: His Life and Work. By E. De Pressense, D. D. Translated by Annie Harwood. Carlton & Lanahan. $1.50. [A popular edition of a well known work which reached its third edition in eight months. This edition omits all controversial, critical and scientific discussions, and addresses itself to all classes of readers. The reputation of the author in Europe and America is a pledge that his part of the work is well done.]

Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada. By Clarence King. J. R. Osgood. $2.50. [Another charming book of travels from the prolific press of Osgood. It is a graphic picture of the scenery in the mountains, valleys, gorges, and deserts of that wonderful region, the Far West. "The Ascent and Descent of Mount Tyndall" makes us hold our breath with terror, and we are half-vexed with the author for his recklessness. "The Sierra Storm" is terribly beautiful, especially when we come to the Yosemite Falls; and "Kaweah's Run" is superb, reminding us of John Brent's glorious ride over the desert.]

Pillars in the Temple; or Sketches of Deceased Laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, distinguished as examples of Piety and Usefulness. By Rev. Wm. C. Smith. With an Introduction by C. C. North. Carlton & Lanahan. [Our Methodist friends may well be proud of such records as are given us here of Judge M'Lean, Gov. Wright, the Harpers, and others. We read them with a feeling of thankfulness that such men have lived, and, departing, have left such testimony to the consecrating power of Christianity.]

Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne. 2 vols. J. R. Osgood. $4.00. [Those who have read his English and American Note-Books, will need only to be told that these volumes are out. Hawthorne's marvellous faculty of seeing and painting the beauties of art and Nature in words that take on all the lights and shades of colors, finds ample room in these volumes for its expression. Italy to him was a wonder-land in this respect; and his clear sight and subtle analysis are recognized on every page. Then his talks with Powers, his sketches of the Brownings, Miss Bremer, and others, his notes of customs, scenes and odd characters, and the varied experiences of travel, are full of interest and information. To our friends contemplating a visit to Europe this season, we say, do not fail to take these volumes with you—they will prove guide-book, travelled companion, and a genial friend all in one.]



ARTICLE XV.

The Genesis of Science.

PART I.

WHAT is the nature of the inductive process? Whence comes that scientific spirit which has sprung so suddenly into life within the last three centuries? Why has the modern study of Nature been attended with a success, contrasting so strangely with the failures of the wisest and most learned of antiquity? These questions as yet remain unanswered. The historical part of the problem has hardly received the most cursory attention, and the theories of induction which have been propounded by Whewell, Mill, Hamilton and a host of others, are almost universally recognized as insufficient. The problem is the most important one within the range of modern philosophy, and we do not believe the mystery which overhangs it to be an insoluble one. On the other hand, we are confident that a comparative study of the different methods of physical research which have been pursued in different ages, will not only reveal to us the origin of the scientific spirit, but explain the true nature of that inductive process which seems to be wrapped in so much obscurity. Upon a work of this kind we now enter, fully conscious of the magnitude of the labor which we have undertaken.

The first fact which arrests our attention is the almost utter failure of the Greek in the study of Nature. At first view, it seems one of the most unaccountable phenomena of history. Take the case of Aristotle, for instance, and observe how utterly futile are all the ordinary methods of explaining that failure. Was it the lack of interest in such pursuits? Upon the other hand, Aristotle, a pure type of the inquisitive genius of Greece, has left behind him monuments of patient and laborious research into the secrets of Nature, which no modern has ever surpassed. Let it be further remembered that the first Grecian philosophers were almost exclusively employed in the study of

external phenomena, while the psychologic and ethical philosophy of later times was really born of the despair, which two centuries of failure in physical research had engendered. Or was the cause a contemptuous disregard of experience and observation? Upon the other hand, Aristotle, following the natural bent of the Hellenic genius, founds his philosophy upon a basis of sensationalism and yields to none in his recognition of experience as the fountain source of knowledge. Or was it, last of all, a lack of the necessary appliances for research? Copernicus, in utter solitude and standing in mortal fear of the interference of the authorities, unravelled the secret of the heavens; the tutor of Alexander could literally command the resources of a world-wide empire to aid him in his studies. And yet Aristotle accomplished absolutely nothing for science. His physical researches are valuable to us only as an index of that singular inaptitude for scientific investigation which characterized the Greek intellect at the proudest period of its development.

The cause generally assigned for the failure of Aristotle and the ancients is the very opposite of the real one. The Greek failed in science not through a lack, but from an excess of that experiential tendency which is commonly supposed to constitute the essence of the scientific spirit. Sensualism lay at the root of the Hellenic genius; it was the primary impulse by which classical life was ever controlled. The idealism of Pythrgoras, Plato and their followers is not representative of antiquity; it is the protest of a few against the prevailing tendency. The idealists stand in a position of antagonism, either open or only half concealed, to the national religion, the popular poetry and myths, the ethical system, the democratic spirit to almost every essential characteristic of Hellenic life; they were vainly employed in endeavoring to stem the current of thought upon which classical antiquity was drifting to its inevitable end. In a word, idealism was exotic and Oriental; sensationalism was native to Greece. The classical spirit was proud, critical and self-reliant; it had little of the faith and reverence which brought the unseen realities of the archetypal

world so near the vision of the idealist. In its conception of Nature, it proudly relied upon the common sense or universal experience of mankind.

Now we maintain that the true scientific spirit is founded upon a certain idealistic sub-stratum of thought, out of which springs the first element of the inductive process. The pure sensationalist can never pass beyond empiricism, except by violating the fundamental postulates of his philosophy.[1] Experience teaches us nothing except the more or less orderly succession of phenomena; by its aid alone, we could never pass beyond the conclusion that *generally or so far as has been observed*, certain events are followed by certain others. Sensationalism, therefore, is logically limited to the vicious induction *per enumerationem simplicem*, and is baffled in every attempt to attain that demonstrative certainty which science demands. In this emergency, idealism comes forward to complete the process. It proclaims a primal unity in Nature, out of which all things emanate through decreasing phases of generality, which men call laws. Starting from this cardinal conviction, it announces that beyond the mere sequence there is a certain intimate and mysterious connection of phenomena by which they are bound together in the relation of cause and effect. Until the causal nexus is discovered, the most constant succession serves only to establish an empirical rule. And to determine this nexus — to bind the phenomena under some principle from which the observed sequence may be deduced — is the first law of the inductive process.

We do not claim that this is the entirety of induction, as Whewell seems to have vaguely thought. We shall show hereafter that the entire process contains another element, of

[1] For instance, J. S. Mill endeavors to explain (Logic Book I. ch. 5, sec. 5) why the invariable succession of day and night does not establish causation between them, by the salvo that the sequence is not an unconditional one. But through the word "*unconditional*" the idealistic conception of causation enters bodily. It is equivalent to saying that night is not the cause of day, because the sequence can be referred back to something which is more than an invariable succession, to a true cause. In the same way, ever since the days of Aristotle, empiricists have used the word "*essential*." But either the idea of essentiality concedes the idealistic theory, or else it is merely reasoning in a circle.

different origin, but of equal importance. At present we are only indicating that necessary substratum of thought upon which the scientific spirit must rest, and through the lack of which antiquity failed so signally in the exploration of Nature. Not, of course, that the Greek had no inkling of the insufficiency of the empirical method; even the most pronounced sensationalist could not but feel at times that there was something in the inductive process, besides a mere enumeration of particulars. But the thought, alien from the prevailing tendency of classical life, made no lasting impression upon him. Engaged in actual investigation, he soon lost sight of it, and fell into that common empiricism which the untrained intellect has ever applied to the study of Nature.

The Aristotelian philosophy notably illustrates with what fatal facility the Greek ran into empirical modes of thought, even when attempting to pass beyond them. Aristotle had evidently been profoundly impressed by the grandeur of the Platonic system; he freely concedes its superiority over all previous forms of doctrine.[2] Indeed the chief source of the obscurity and inconsistency which sometimes overshadow his own speculation, is the futile endeavor to incorporate idealistic results into a sensational philosophy. Always recognizing that science must be based upon universal and indemonstrable principles, he is forced to give from his standpoint a not always consistent account of their origin.[3] Vaguely conscious of the element of truth underlying the ideal hypothesis, he strives to express it in his own doctrine of essential forms. But amid the subtleties of the Aristotelian logic, the universal finally fades from the sphere of reality into that of abstraction.[4] The essential form dwindles into the individual thing itself stripped of certain of its properties.[5] In the ultimate analysis, the

[2] Aristot. Metaph.

[3] Compare Bain, Appendix Mental Science, p. 88 et seq, with Ueberweg Hist Philosophy Vol. 1. Sec. 48. Ueberweg, however, seems to be completely misled by the idealistic gloss upon the Aristotleian doctrine.

[4] Aristot. Metaph. vii. 13.

[5] *Ἐκ τε δὴ τούτων τῶν λογων ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτὸ ἑκαστον καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι.* Metaph. 7. 6. To the accidental, however, this law does not apply, as Aristotle states in the following sentence. The essence is the thing stripped of every accident.

essential becomes merely the contrary of the accidental, and the accidental is simply that which does not happen always or for the most part.[6] In all this we are on the highway to the bleakest empiricism. Notwithstanding the apparent parallelism between them, the Aristotelic form is diametrically opposed to the Platonic idea, born of a different spirit, productive of contrary methods and leading to opposite results. In fact, Aristotle had essayed the impossible; thinking that he had grasped the substance of idealism without its imperfections, he dallies with the merest shadow. In spite of the subtile refinements, through which he had attempted to pass beyond the limits of his fundamental theory, he is ever compelled to return at last within the narrow circle of thought by which the empirical philosophy is logically bounded.

By the ruling tendency of classical thought, then, the investigation of Nature was confined to the enumeration of particulars. The empirical rules thus established can explain nothing, for they simply restate the phenomena, under a more general formula. Although the grossness of the procedure may often be hidden under a weight of words and logical subtleties, yet a close scrutiny will almost always reveal this fatal defect underlying the physical theories of antiquity and of the untrained intellect in every age. In mechanics, for instance, the cardinal principle of the ancients was their division of motions into the natural and the violent—that is, the motions of a body to its own place and from its own place. But all that is only what Bacon aptly calls "a cold and weak distinction."[7] It is but the hasty gathering up of things into groups, without establishing any causal principle to bind them together. Therefore none of the sequences which it pretends to explain can be deduced from it, and it answers no purpose except to give to ignorance the appearance of wisdom.[8]

[6] Ibid x. 8, v. 30, vi. 2. vc.

[7] Works, Montagu Ed. vol. iii, p. 464.

[8] Aristotle (De Coelo, Lib. iv. Cap. 3) says, *Τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν διὰ τὶ φέρεται το πῦρ ἄνω καὶ ἡ γῆ κάτω τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστι καὶ διὰ τί τὸ ὑγιαστὸν ἂν κινῆται καὶ μεταβάλλῃ ἡ ὑγίαστὸν εἰσ ὑγιειαν ἐρχεται ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσ λευκότητα.* In that sentence one may read the secret of Aristotle's failure in Natural Philosophy.

It has been often said that the fundamental error of the Greek physicists consisted in their supposing that those things which have a common name must therefore have a common nature; but the remark is a superficial one.[9] The Greeks were too thoughtful a race not to fully appreciate the ambiguities of language; their error had a deeper source. For if in the formation of universals, we are to be restricted to the empirical method, if we are to deal only with the succession of phenomena, then there are no more worthy generalizations than those which have been established by universal experience and chrystallized into language. It was not a childish reverence for words, which prevented the Greek from perceiving that many things classed under a common name had no common nature; it was rather a deference, proper and logical from his standpoint, to that universal experience which thus had grouped the phenomena together. His mistake sprang not from a deficient philology, but from a false philosophy.

Our explanation of the failure of Greek science is remarkably confirmed by the history of the scanty progress which was really made in the study of Nature. The idealists, as we have seen, stand in a position of antagonism to the prevailing tendency of classical thought; they represent the counter-impulse to that which governed Hellenic development in every department of thought and life. And it is a notable fact that almost every advance in physical research made by antiquity, is to be ascribed to the schools of idealism. Take the ancient astronomy for instance. Greek thought, even when most cultured and inquiring, was forced by its empirical tendencies, to accept the dictum of universal experience, that the earth is immovably fixed in the centre of the universe. But the Pythagoreans, starting from the convictions of a faith entirely antagonistic to the theological, moral, political and intellectual tendencies of Hellenic life, were enabled to emancipate themselves from the unscientific prejudice, *to correct universal observation by the ap-*

[9] It is surprising that any one after reading the 5th book of Definitions in the Metaphysics, filled with the most subtile distinctions concerning the different meanings of philosophical terms, could have accused Aristotle, as Mill does, (Logic pp. 1, cp. 4) of failing to recognize the ambiguities of language.

plication of ideal principles, and thus to frame a theory of the universe not very far removed from the true one.[10] Copernicus, as is well known, gathered the germs of his doctrine from the Pythagorean writings; and in the famous decree launched by the Catholic hierarchy against the Copernican theory, the new system is expressly designated as "*falsa illa doctrina Pythagorica.*"[11] Plato, whose idealism takes a poetic rather than a scientific direction, was not always able to free himself from the belief in the immobility of the earth. Still to him must be ascribed the signal merit of having first stated the astronomical problem in the form which it ever afterwards assumed in the mind of the true investigator, and in which it was finally solved by the labors of Kepler and Newton.[12]

And so in other departments of physical research, the speculations of ancient idealism contain the germs of modern discoveries. "The Platonic conviction," as Dr. Whewell has truly said,[13] "concerning the mathematical laws of nature, has continued through all ages to be the animating and supporting principle of scientific investigation." In the same way Bacon, although sharing the natural prejudice of his nation and age against Pythagoras, is forced to admit that "the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers goes deep into the elementary principles of Nature."[14] And what Bacon, standing at the threshold of modern science, saw but dimly, may now be recognized by all. When we consider the numerical laws which are found to govern the most intricate combinations of Chemistry, when we behold the great cosmic phenomena gradually being resolved by one discovery after another into mathematical equations of

[10] Compare Martin (*Etudes sur le Timee* Vol. 2, p. 121) as to the variations in the Pythagorean teachings concerning the earth.

[11] Lassen presents Arjabhatta, the most distinguished of Indian astronomers, as a precursor of Copernicus. "In seiner Astronomie zeichnet sich Arjabhatta von seinen Nachfolgen besonders, dadurch aus, das er die tagliche Bewegung der Erde um die Sonne kannte. (*Indische Alterthumskunde* Bd. 2, p. 1143.

[12] Platon proposa aux Mathèmaticiens le probleme dont l'objet est de representer par des cercles tous les mouvemens apparens. Cette idée eut encore les plus heureux effets. . . . Platon merite donc d'etre considerè l'un des premiers promoteurs de la veritable science astronomique. (*Delambre. Astronomie Ancienne.* Tom 1, p. 16.

[13] History Inductive Sciences. II. p. 108.

[14] Bacon Works, vol. 1. p. 467.

Force, we may well exclaim, that the final results of modern science were foreshadowed more than two thousand years ago in the dreams of classical idealism.[15]

The history of physical investigation in the schools of Alexandria, offers a still more surprising confirmation of our theory. The Alexandrian age is universally recognized as marking the decline of the ancient Hellenic spirit. The impulse which animated the classical life of Greece, had culminated even in the days of Aristotle; thenceforward it passes on through rapidly succeeding stages of decay and ruin. That decline is evinced by the extinction of the spirit of liberty, the loss of that æsthetic power which had created the marvellous poetry and art of ancient Greece, the decay of the national religion, and in fact, by the gradual vanishing of the noblest characteristics of the Hellenic genius. Amid this decadence of the classical spirit, the counter-impulse of human nature began to manifest itself with a constantly increasing power. Such a movement while naturally springing, for the most part, from the exhaustion of the ancient modes of thought, was greatly facilitated by the conquests of Alexander, opening, as they did, a path of communication with the Orient, which in all ages has been the native land of the reverential, ascetic and idealistic spirit.[16] Its progress was furthermore hastened by the encouragement of the absolutist rulers who had risen into power upon the ruins of ancient liberty, and who were wise enough to recognize that the faith of Pythagoras, Plato and the East was no friend to democracy, that nothing could better aid them in the work of subjugating the free, proud and self-reliant spirit of classical antiquity. Of this movement, born of the decay of the ancient Hellenic life and fostered by the cunning of despotism, Alexandria was the undisputed centre. Her magnificent position at the very gateway of the East, made

[15] The first germs of physiological science are to be ascribed, as we shall see hereafter, to Hippocrates, an idealist of the Pythagorean school.

[16] Idealism dominates everywhere in Oriental philosophy. "*No one of the schools of Indian philosophy*," says Houghton, (As Trans. Vol. 3, p. 412) "*is essentially materialistic.*" Even the skeptical philosophy of Kapila was unable to free itself from the all controlling tendency. The Sankhya Karika is essentially as idealistic as the system of the Vedanta.

her the natural focus of the Oriental influences which were pouring in upon the West; and in her schools began that vigorous development of idealism which finally culminated in the Neo-Platonic philosophy.[17]

And this epoch, marked by the decadence of the ancient Hellenic spirit and the steady advance of idealistic influences from the East, is universally recognized as the scientific age of antiquity. At Alexandria, men of science first began to appear as a separate and independent class from the philosophers; there for the first time, really scientific work was done and permanent foundations were laid upon which the vast superstructure of modern science has been erected. For mathematical investigation the æsthetic and ethical genius of ancient Greece had evinced a singular inaptitude and the most utter indifference. The representative mind of Socrates discountenanced any greater attention to mathematical studies than might be necessary for the keeping of accounts or the mensuration of fields,[18] and the profound intellect of Aristotle seems to have regarded them with an only half-concealed contempt and suspicion.[19] In the epoch of the Ptolemies, at Alexandria, mathematical science may be truly said to have begun its career. Geometry had received a considerable impulse from what Comte enthusiastically calls, "the immortal discovery of Pythagoras; it had been zealously cultivated in its rudimentary forms by Plato and his disciples; but it was reserved for Euclid, a Platonist of the Alexandrian era,[20] to erect it into a science, perfect in its method and complete in all its parts.

[17] *Lassen* (*Indische Alterthumskunde* Vol. 3, p. 418, et seq) has finely portrayed the connection of Neo-Platonic with Hindoo philosophy. *Vacherot* (*L'ecole d'Alexandrie* Tom 1, p. 114) denies that there is in Neo-Platonism a complete union of Oriental and Greek thought. The Greek element is exclusively Platonic.

[18] Xenophon, Mem. The mathematical obtuseness of classical antiquity is shown in their inability to attain to even a simple system of arithmetical notation, like that long practised in India, unless indeed we concede the claim of the later Pythagoreans that their master had framed a similar invention. *Vide Delambre, Hist. Astronomie Anc.* 2, p. 3.

[19] *Arist Metaph* i. 9, and ii. 2. Certainly the lack of mathematical power exhibited by so great a genius is remarkable. Montucla says of him, "Ils trouveront sans doute que le plupart des explications qu'il donne sont entierement fausses, et la principale et la premiere est tout-a-fait ridicule. (*Histoire des Mathematiques*) Tom 1, p. 203.

[20] *Proclus, Comm. in Euclid*, Lib. ii. cp. 4.

Archimedes, belonging to the same age, and, although the citizen of another State, yet most intimately connected with the school of Alexandria, is the acknowledged founder of Mechanics; to the discoverer of the principle of the lever must be ascribed the signal honor of having been the first to apply a true scientific method to those mechanical problems concerning which the empirical genius of Aristotle and the Greeks, in general, had prattled so absurdly. In astronomy, the school of Alexandria attained the same pre-eminence; with its members, says Dr. Whewell, "begin all the Greek observations which are of any value."[21] Among the earlier cultivators of astronomy of any note—Philolaus, Ecphantus, Hicetas, Archytas, Heraclides of Pontus, or Eudorus—there is no name which does not belong to the roll of Pythagorean or Platonic philosophers; and the science finally reached the highest stage of perfection, ever attained in ancient times, through the labors of Aristarchus, Hipparchus and others, who dwelt in the atmosphere of those idealistic influences which focalized at Alexandria.[22] Amid the same influences, the germs of geographical science were planted by Eratosthenes, of hydrostatics by Archimedes, and of optics by Ptolemy. In the sciences of organic life, however, the labors of the Graeco-Egyptian school were not equally fortunate; with all the aid that could be afforded by the most magnificent appliances for research, only the most insignificant results were attained. Of this failure, the cause will appear more plainly hereafter. Suffice it for the present, that in every other department of science, a real and permanent advance was made at Alexandria, alone of all the centres of classical civilization.

Let it be remembered, however, that this scientific epoch was of the shortest duration; the real movement in advance was comprised within a space of time barely one hundred and fifty years in extent. For very soon the idealistic impulse lapsed into those wild extremes which seem inseparable from its development. Mystical and theurgic tendencies began to mani-

[21] Hist. Ind. Sciences. Vol. 2, p. 153.

[22] Montucla (*Hist des Math* Tom 1, p. 203) says, "C'est enfin a cette ecole celebre qu'est du le premier systeme d'astronomie fonde sur une comparison reflechie des phenomenes celestes et propre a les representer avec quelque verite."

fest themselves which ended at last in the vagaries and vicious excesses of the later Neo-Platonism. In a word, the Alexandrian philosophy ran the entire round of Oriental development. Beginning in an anti-empirical tendency, most friendly to the scientific movement, it soon plunged into that morass of mysticism, where all progress is forever rendered impossible. Hence at the beginning of the first century before Christ, the career of science at Alexandria was virtually at an end. During the six centuries which intervened before the final vanishing of Neo-Platonism, the schools were almost entirely confined to a servile commentation upon the labors of a by-gone age, to a laborious but unscientific classification of materials, and to an endless re-echoing of ancient opinions. The history of Alexandrian thought teaches that, while idealism is the true parent of science, still when left to herself, she will in the end throttle her own offspring.

Such then is our explanation of the Greek failure in scientific research, to which the school of Alexandria in its earlier years offers the solitary exception. The cause of that failure has been found to be the essentially empirical tendency which controlled the development of classical life. The Aristotelian and all others following the ordinary bent of the Hellenic genius, were incapacitated from taking the first steps in a true scientific movement. To them, Nature is but a more or less orderly procession of phenomena,[23] like that of an army on the march; and induction (*επαμωμη*) is the act of a general, who by certain logical aids arranges the disorderly troops into regular files as if for review. Such a process as that is nothing, and can be nothing, but that induction by simple enumeration which in all ages has been the great stumbling-block in the way of scientific progress. Vary the procedure as you will,—add subtle methods of Difference, of Residues, of Variations, as Mill has done—and still the process remains essentially the same. Still it lacks the idealistic principle upon which every true induction must rest. That principle teaches that the final

[23] According to Aristotle, complete order and perfection is confined to celestial phenomena; as we descend to earth and to the lower ranks of existence, we enter more and more the region of disorder, imperfection and chance.

test of every supposed universal law lies in the proof that from it the observed phenomena may be rigidly deduced. Of this test, constituting the first great canon of the inductive process, — Aristotle in all his subtle disquisitions concerning causes, furnishes no hint. Of it, the Greeks as a race had no conception. Acute reasoners, as they were, they were never weary of deduction; having established some universal by a mere enumeration of particulars, they went on boldly deducing all manner of consequences from it with wonderful ingenuity. They never dreamed, however, that the deduction was to be applied *before* the establishment of the universal, as the final test of its validity; that until the deduced consequences had been shown to exactly correspond with the observed phenomena, they had only an empirical rule, utterly worthless for all scientific purposes. Such a conviction the sensational theory can neither furnish nor enforce.

Lord Bacon has left on record the opinion that Plato alone of all the ancients, made use of genuine induction.[24] Applied to Plato, as the representative of an exceptional class and as distinguished from the great majority of Greek and Roman thinkers, the remark is a true one. And yet the shallow empiricism of the present age has asserted the exact reverse of this; it has enthroned Aristotle as the true type of the inductive spirit and the founder of ancient science. Nothing could be farther from the truth than this; unless, indeed, endless *talking* about induction and experience constitutes the essence of the scientific spirit. Amid all the encyclopedic studies of the great Stagyrite, extending over so many different departments of physical research, no man can lay his hand upon a single discovery or one permanent contribution made to the wealth of science. In his own proper field, Aristotle stands unrivalled and unapproachable. But his physical studies remain an eternal type of Greek empiricism, and a lasting monument of its utter worthlessness when applied to the study of Nature.[25]

[24] Novum Organon. Lib. 1, aph. 105.

[25] It will be understood that all that has been said concerning the Greek intellect applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Roman. The Roman intellect is even more intensely empirical; practical, rather than speculative, it presents hardly a trace of idealism.

PART II.

As we approach the Middle Ages, we behold a strange revolution in the life of Europe; the human spirit has swung around to the very opposite pole of thought, from that occupied in the days of classical civilization. The free, self-reliant and critical genius of antiquity is almost entirely banished, and the counter-impulse of human nature is everywhere supreme. In its social polity, in its theology and ascetic morality, in its recognition of the supremacy of faith over reason, in its intense supernaturalism, and in every essential characteristic, the mediæval system is the Christian counterpart of Orientalism.[26]

The signs of this revolution are evinced with especial clearness in the intellectual development of the Middle Ages, which may be truly said to lack no one of the essential features of Oriental thought. To this but a single fact offers even an apparent exception, and that is the supremacy of Aristotle in the schools of mediæval philosophy. But the exception is only an apparent one. The Aristotelian ascendancy was the creation of accident; it furnishes no index of the real spirit or tendency of mediæval thought. Whatever may be the accidental form of the scholastic philosophy, its ruling tendency is as essentially idealistic as that of Plato or the Orient.

Certain it is that the earlier mediæval philosophy closely adheres to that Platonic basis, upon which St. Augustine had reared the Catholic system of thought. Upon the very threshhold of the Middle Ages stands the gigantic figure of Erigena, a Platonist who carries out the doctrine of his master to the extremes of Alexandrian mysticism. From his time until the close of the twelfth century, there is no essential deviation from the idealistic type of philosophy, except on the part of mere disputants, like Roscellinus and Abelard, who stand in an attitude of more or less conscious hostility to the doctrine of the church and the spirit of the age. But in the first half of the thirteenth century scholasticism began to fully feel the influence of the Arabian learning with its Aristotelian predi-

[26] Vide *Universalist Quarterly*, January, 1872, p. 89.

lections.[27] Through this medium, the doctrines of the Stagyrite gained a most favorable hearing, while those of Plato were known for the most part only through the misrepresentations of his foes. The authority of the great idealist, thus beheld in a false and imperfect light, gradually waned before the name of his ancient rival; but still the Platonic convictions, as we shall see hereafter, lay at the basis of scholasticism.

The formal ascendency of Aristotle was further aided by certain conditions which the requirements of the age imposed upon the scholastic philosophy. Out of chaos, the Catholic polity had finally risen into a system marvellous in its order and proportions; and there was now demanded an intellectual organization which should correspond to the social one. As life had already been, so mediæval thought was now to be organized into a system, encyclopedic in its grasp and perfectly elaborated in all its parts. In such a work, Plato could render but little aid, for the intensely poetic element in his nature had made him averse to all systematic elaboration of his doctrine. The schoolmen, then, had no recourse but to the categories, the formulas, the subtle analysis and all the immense logical apparatus of Aristotle; and they bow before the master whom circumstances had imposed upon them, with a true Oriental servility.[28] But still scholasticism is the soul of Plato in the body of Aristotle. A combination was effected similar to that exhibited in the creation of mediæval art. For as the painting of the Middle Ages holds fast to the æsthetic forms, the delicacy and grace of classical art, while its inner life is everywhere inspired by the vivid supernaturalism and the mystical fervor of the East, so the scholastic philosophy in its form is Aristotelian or Hellenic, but in its spirit, Platonic and Oriental.[29]

[27] According to Jourdain (*Recherches sur les traductions d' Aristote* p. 212) about the year 1220 or 1225.

[28] Bacon (Nov. Org. Lib. 1, aph. 77) has a fine remark to the effect that the scholastic veneration of Aristotle was the result rather of obsequiousness than of any profound sympathy with his doctrine.

[29] Albertus sagt, die vereinigung der aristotelischen und der platonischen Philosophi sei die wahre Philosophie. (*Sighart, Albertus Magnus, Sein Leben und Seine Wessenschaft* p. 358.) Haureau (*Philos Scholastique* Tom 2, p. 9,) says that the Logic of Al-

This combination was rendered less difficult by that idealistic haze which surrounds the thought of Aristotle. The Stagyrite, as we have seen, appears to have been profoundly impressed by some of the results of the Platonic speculations, and to have strenuously sought to incorporate them into his own system of doctrine. His theory of essential forms is a profound endeavor to evade empiricism and to grasp the universal and necessary while adhering to the postulates of sensational philosophy. It is true that in this attempt he utterly failed, and out of a wonderful maze of obscure and subtile refinements, he finally emerges at the very opposite pole of thought from that of idealism. Nevertheless, amid the obscurity thus engendered, the schoolmen were easily able to justify an allegiance upon which they had already determined.

Out of these adventitious circumstances, arose that Aristotelian ascendancy which has so misled the students of mediæval philosophy. The realistic or orthodox and representative scholasticism is Aristotelian only in form and profession, not in spirit. Even the qualified realism of Albertus and Aquinas is entirely opposed to the true peripatetic doctrine of universals, and only an investigation more erudite than profound could have confounded conceptions so radically distinct.

It is true that the moderate realists unite with Aristotle in denouncing the supposed belief of Plato in the separate or independent existence of universals.[30] But this hypostasizing of ideas forms no essential part of the idealistic faith; it is only a brilliant fancy born of the poetic genius of Plato and sadly interfering with the logical perfection of his doctrine. The fundamental conception which characterizes the idealist, is his belief *in the unity of the universal.* To him, the crowds of sensible particulars are but multiplied shadows of an unseen reality. The species, therefore, is something more than the

bertus is Aristotelian, and his Metaphysics, Platonic. The truth contained in this sweeping statement is presented in the distinction we have made above, Albertus being the true exponent of Orthodox Scholasticism.

[30] Haureau (*Philos Scholastique* Tom 1, p. 49,) pronounces it a still unsettled question whether Plato thus conceived ideas. Plotunus, Plutarch, Porphyry and other ancients did not so understand his teaching.

collection of individuals, the group of shadows, which alone reveal themselves to sense; above and before the phenomenal is the true universal, by which the particulars are bound together in a real though mysterious unity. In this belief the Aristotelian had and could have no share. To him the sensible and that which may be inferred from the sensible is alone existent. The eternal is but the phenomenal, buried in the remote distance of the stars and the regions beyond; we know it only through the inferences of sensation, as we infer a city when we behold its lights in the distance. There is then nothing before the individual or the phenomenal; the essential form is but the thing itself stripped of its accidental accretions; and the universal is but the aggregation of these naked individuals, which have unity in logic but only similarity in Nature. Herein, the two philosophies are as wide apart as heaven and earth, and there is no chance of compromise or possible borderland between them.

And whenever the realists approach the true point at issue between the two philosophies, they instantly desert the standard of Aristotle. All unite in proclaiming the doctrine of *universalia ante rem;* even Aquinas, seeking to become the official organ of Catholic philosophy and therefore striving to conciliate all parties, never deviates from this fundamental conception. All agree that before the phenomenal began, the universal existed in the mind of God. Nor is this existence a merely abstract or logical one; the idea in God is nothing else than the essence of God.[31] While rejecting, then, the poetic fancy ascribed to Plato, concerning the independent existence of ideas, apart from the divine nature, the realists abandon no essential part of idealism; on the other hand, they are enabled to grasp with a firmer hold its fundamental faith in the unity of the universal. From their standpoint, the species is something more than a group of essences or a collection of individuals. Before all phenomena, the universal

[31] "*Necesse est ponere in mente divina ideas. . . Deus secundum essentiam suam est similitudo omnium rerum. Unde idea in Deo nihil est aliud quam Dei essentia.*" Aquinas. Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quest. 15, Art. 1.

existed in the divine nature, as the archetype of individuals and the principle of unity by which they are bound together in a necessary and natural connection.

Such, then, stripped of all disguises is the real character of the scholastic philosophy. Nominalism, alone, adheres to the Aristotelian or Hellenic convictions; and the nominalistic school was by no means representative of the mediæval spirit, but rather protestant against it and chief among the instruments of its final overthrow. With this exception, scholasticism, as Bishop Hampden truly says, "never abandoned its first attachment to the Platonic faith;"[32] even when professing formal allegiance to Aristotle it never swerves from a truly Oriental idealism.[33]

Keeping clearly in view this fundamental characteristic of mediæval philosophy, we can duly estimate the importance of its mission. Derided as the scholastic realism has been, by an age poorly fitted to appreciate or even to understand it, nevertheless it has exerted a most important influence upon the intellectual development of Europe. The Greeks failed in science on account of certain limitations, that were imposed upon them by the prevailing tendencies of classical thought. It was the mission of mediævalism to remove these limitations, to firmly incorporate into the thought of Europe those fundamental convictions upon which the inductive process must ever

[32] Aquinas. Encyc. Metropolitana, Vol. 2, p. 806. Hampden, while admitting the idealism of the schoolmen, has made an erroneous distinction between it and realism. (p. 817 &c.) Mediæval realism does indeed differ from the Platonic form of idealism, in so far as Plato seems to have comparatively neglected the contemplation of Species in general, and to have fixed his thought upon such universals as the Idea of the Good, the Beautiful, &c. The theory is the same, only Plato, following the Greek instinct, applied it more to Ethics; the schoolmen to the external universe. This seems to us the only ground for the distinction of Hampden.

[33] Oriental philosophy displays the realistic element in idealism more vividly than Platonism. Even the skeptical philosophy of Kapila beheld in individuality only the unreal and phenomenal, from the contemplation of which the soul seeks to be delivered. (Sankhya Karika lxiv et al.) In this it remains true to the ideal-realistic view which animates every school of Indian philosophy. Colebrooke (Philosophy Hindus Vol. 9 of As. Transactions, p. 112,) asserts that the school of the Bauddhas maintains that individuals alone really exist. But this is more than doubtful. Besides the Buddhist heresy is not representative like that of Kapila, (Colebrooke, As. Trans. Vol. 2, page 19.)

rest. For five centuries the intellect of Christendom was being moulded by the scholastic philosophy into certain forms of thought; the moulds were long since cast away, but the impressions still remain. Deeply impressed upon all truly scientific thought are certain idealistic convictions which can be ascribed only to the influence of mediæval realism. What these conceptions are and how they have regulated the method of physical research, will be more clearly seen hereafter. Suffice it for the present that from the Middle Ages Europe has inherited that idealistic substratum of thought upon which the inductive method is based.

Farther than this, mediæval thought could not go; it might lay the foundations, but could not build. By other essential characteristics of its nature, by its lack of the critical and enquiring spirit, by its servile deference to authority, by its boundless credulity and love of the marvellous, by its veneration of theology as the sum and substance of all science, it was confined to endless commentation upon the labors of the past and prevented from any untrammeled investigation in the field of Nature. Mediæval science was, therefore, for the most part, only a servile reproduction of the ideas of Aristotle and the Arabians. No advance was made, because none was really attempted. The spirit of investigation was, as it were, under the ban of outlawry, and the few inquiries instituted by the alchemists and others were regarded with universal suspicion and dislike. Another age must come before the scientific principles which were imprisoned within the mediæval philosophy could be freed from their bondage and thus enabled to perform their proper work in the study of Nature and the formation of science.

[Concluded in the October number.]

Article XVI.

Letters of Murray and Richards.

Among the papers kindly placed at my service for the preparation of the Biographical Sketch of the late Rev. Edward Turner, were several letters of Revs. John Murray and George Richards. Extracts were made from some of them; but the editor has deemed it important that the entire letters should be preserved, because of their historical interest and possible future service. At his request, therefore, they have been prepared for publication in these pages, and are herewith presented, accompanied by such notes and explanations as have seemed necessary. Murray's first follow, in chronological order, and then those of Richards, in the same order.

I.

Boston, Feb. 23, 1801.

You will, my Dear Sir, probably be surprised, on looking to the close of this letter, to find a name you have never yet seen in such circumstances. I will, however, hasten to account for this. Our Brother Richards, who some time since attended the Convention,[1] was kind enough to indulge me with some account of the proceedings of that Body, and of the principal characters that composed it, in which he made honorable mention of you, and, I am free to say, originated in my breast an anxious desire to obtain a personal acquaintance with you. For some time past, I have been labouring to gain your address. I have at length succeeded, I hope. I am informed you reside in Orange, in this State. I have, therefore, taken up my pen this morning for the purpose of addressing a line to you as to a brother and fellow-labourer in the work of the Ministry of the New Testament, humbly requesting you, if possible, to indulge me with a *visit* in this Town. I promise, on my part, to make it as agreeable to you as I am able. I want you to be *acquainted* with me, and encourage the hope that, when you are, you will not dislike me. I want a personal acquaintance with *you*, which is not necessary to gain *my* esteem and affection.

[1] The General Convention at Orange, Mass., in Sept., 1800. This was the first session of the Convention which Mr. Turner attended.

You are already in possession of both. Do, my dear sir, make the experiment, and come, visit your friends in this place. I have a great deal to *say* to you, much more than I can *write* to you. In the hope that you will indulge me with a visit, I shall not say more at present, only to request that, if you cannot start immediately on receiving this, you will have the goodness to send me a line of information respecting your determination, &c.

I have my fears that you have no Post Office in your town, and that you will not get this line. If you should, you will as soon as possible let me know it. You will direct to me, No. 5 Franklin Place, Boston. A line from you will be pleasing; but a visit infinitely more pleasing on many accounts to

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

JOHN MURRAY.

P. S. If you should be able to give us a visit, I expect you will do me the favor to put up at my house.

This letter and those following are all superscribed, "Mr. Edward Turner, Minister of the Gospel, In the town of Sturbridge, Massachusetts."

II.

BOSTON, Oct. 9, 1802.

I am, my Friend, much obliged by your favor of the twenty-eighth of September. I have been expecting a line from you for some time, but thought you delayed writing till you had been to Convention, that you might have something certain of a satisfactory nature to write on. I am, indeed, very sorry for the indisposition you and your family have labored under. I humbly trust through divine favour you are now in a better state, both you and your family. *Your* complaint is peculiarly distressing. I pray that your health may be perfected, and your future labours be crowned with great success. I am pleased and thankful to find that our divine Master gave you a disposition to help me and your many friends in this place. You are here, I do assure you, much beloved and admired, and I am very glad of it. You are coming on, I am going off the stage of public action. You will be, I humbly trust, a burning and a shining light in God's temple, to give light to those that are in the House, when I am no more in this weary land. I pray God be with you, and make your way clear before you.

I am obliged to you for your attention to me in wishing to

supply my place in this town. Could you be here so as to enable me to set out on the last of this month, that I might be in New York the first Sunday in November, and supply my place till the first day of January, I should be glad to go. But it would not be worth my while to go for a less time, there is so much time taken in going and returning. I could not, therefore, think of going such a journey in less than two months, going and coming. You will have the goodness to let me know as soon as possible; and if you cannot now, perhaps you may by the first of next April or May, and then you may so order your matters as to make it answer for us both.

Let me request you to write to me as soon as possible. I send this by post. I hope you will get it, that I may determine as soon as possible. I could not be more than one month in New York were I to go the first of November. At all events, let me know *how long* you *can* be here, and *when you can be here.* I shall send another line to you if I can find a conveyance by hand. I hope we shall understand one another, and feel for each other in future in despite of the devil. We are disciples of the same Master. I am not wholly ignorant of Satan's devices; but our Saviour [is] more than a match for his and our adversary. My regards to your good lady. You will, I trust, believe me ever

Your affectionate Friend and fellow-laborer,

J. MURRAY.

III.

My very Dear Friend, your obliging favor of the fifteenth of November, I have now before me. I am grieved for you, and the sick family you suffer with and for. I hope you never will again suffer so much in this way. I hope our Saviour will graciously establish the health of your child, of each of your family, and give you will and power, should it accord with his divine pleasure, to comply with the wishes of myself, and our mutual friends, in supplying my place for a few months next spring. I thank you for your good wishes respecting this matter, and hope our Saviour will, in his good providence, bring it about. I cannot help thinking [that] for the little while I have to remain, it would be more for the interest of the common cause if you and I were so to divide our labours as to keep this place always open, as the Capital where, from all parts, they collect, and alternately supply as many other places as we could. Our cause, under God, would gain strength by

this means, so as to promise stability and insure some degree of respectability. I look to the Bishop of our souls to ordain you for this purpose. I pray our Saviour to preserve you in health of body and mind, and make us of one heart and one mind in the furtherance of the Gospel.

I suffer much from pain. I suspect it is of the gouty kind, and rheumatic. These disorders are very nearly allied; and except I can travel more than I have done for a long while past, I suspect I shall be laid up, almost useless. But if our Saviour should see fit to prevent this, he will provide the means.

Don't you think that sermon of Bro. Richards's is a most excellent discourse? I was happy in being able to put off in our meeting between seventy and eighty of them. I sent for more, but they were gone. I wish we could have had another impression of them. It is a pity he had not had one thousand printed at first. They would, I am persuaded, have gone off very rapidly. I am sorry the poor dear man is not likely to make anything in the pecuniary way of them. He needs it, and he deserves it.

Adieu, my lov'd Friend. You will let me hear from you as often as you can, and believe me ever

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

Boston, Dec. 1, 1802. JOHN MURRAY.

IV.

BOSTON, Dec. 30, 1802.

My Dear Sir, your obliging favor of the 21st of this inst. is now before me. I thank you for it, and for the friendly intimations it contains. I rejoice that your little one is on the recovery, and that you have a prospect of once more being blessed with health in your family. I am pleased to find you have a visit to Gloucester in contemplation, and that you intend to indulge your Boston friends with a visit on your way, either going or returning, or perhaps both, which, I trust, would be most pleasing. The letter [word obliterated] to, which you had the goodness to send, and which you mention in the one before me, I answered as soon as possible, and, being informed that the safest and most expeditious mode of conveyance was by a private hand, I delivered it to our mutual friend Wright, who knew of such a mode of conveyance, and engaged to forward it by the first that offered.

I am sorry Brother Flagg was not impelled by inclination

to take Boston in his way on his return. I wish for an acquaintance with him, and with every honest Christian promulgator of divine truth. But I am hasting to a better state of things, where I shall know as I am known, and where myself and my associates will be spiritually minded.

It is the interest and the duty of every servant of our divine Master, as far as in their power lieth, to live peaceably with all men, and to become all things to all men, to win them to Christ, but nothing to any man that has not a tendency thus to do. It is the interest of every one who may sustain the character we sustain to do all in our power to gain the affections of our Father's children, and to keep those affections when gained. It is much easier to lose friends than to gain them. We love to be attended to ourselves. We know by ourselves what is pleasing to others. You have many friends in this place, and they are respectable. Were I of an envious disposition, I should have been pleased with your conduct when you were here last; but I am not, and was pained. You had an engagement for the Sunday following. They thought, if you had any affection for them, you might have tarried *a few days* with them. If they had not a sincere affection for you, your sudden departure would not have grieved or offended them. I wish you may in future convince them that you *love* your friends, however you may feel towards your enemies. There is no place where the affection of the people would tend to promote your honor, or your interest, more than here. I am persuaded you are not deficient in grateful affection, but I should be glad you would shun the *appearance* of this evil. You see, my Friend, I act the friendly, honest part with you. I do with you as I would be done by, and in thus doing, I convince you that I have a good opinion of you, and a sincere affection for you.

You have heard, I presume, of the distress of our Portsmouth Friends by fire.[2] It is a very heavy calamity at this season of the year. How numerous are the ills of life!

I present through you my respectful regards to your dear lady. I pray God to establish her health and the health of your children, and to enable you in the coming spring to supply the place of

Your ever affectionate Friend, &c.,

JOHN MURRAY.

[2] One of the "Great Fires" from which Portsmouth, N. H., has suffered. This occurred on Christmas night, 1802, destroying a large portion of the business centre of the town.

This letter doubtless gives a good illustration of the manner in which Mr. Murray was accustomed to assume something of the air and functions of a primate,[3] and to exercise by virtue of his seniority, sometimes offensively, the province of approval or rebuke with reference to the opinions and conduct of his brethren. The precise ground of the semi-reprimand here administered to Mr. Turner for not remaining some days longer among his Boston friends cannot now be explained. But Mr. Turner was not a man to give needless offence, or to act without sufficient cause in his own judgment; and he had his reasons, we may be sure, for hastening home, which, were they understood, would show that the people had no just occasion to complain, nor Mr. Murray to write in such a fault-finding strain.

We come now to the letters of Mr. Richards, referring those who may desire to know something of the man to the imperfect sketch of him in the last (April) issue of the QUARTERLY:

I.

PORTSMOUTH, July 14, 1802.

MY DEAR SIR, FRIEND AND BROTHER:—I have done myself the pleasure to reply in part to your last favor, and as it is possible that the letter, which I have sent, may be as long in reaching you as my former, I have thought it expedient to write again by another route, and transmit this to my son, who will forward it to his friend at Worcester, and from thence the transition to Buckfield Post-office is easy.

My sole object in this letter is to renew my solicitations in behalf of the society at [Gloucester] Cape Ann. And respecting them, their situation and your prospects with them, I shall give the most faithful and friendly detail that is in my power.

The society at Cape Ann may be pronounced the first born in the faith. They were gathered upwards of twenty years past by our respected elder, Mr. John Murray, though many of them were in possession of the same truth long before they saw him. As their departure from the established Congrega-

[3] He says of himself, "I have been accused of assuming the dictator." Letters, &c. Vol. ii. p. iii.

tional mode gave great offence to the Congregationalists, they consequently manifested their chagrin by all the virulence of party spirit; and as of all spirits, Religious Party is the most persecuting, intolerant and unforgiving, they would have persecuted them even unto death. But as wise, restrictive laws prevented this, they spent the force of malignant passions in law-suits; and it may be said that the Freedom of our Name and all the public religious enjoyments of the Universal Churches and Societies in Massachusetts are owing to the spirited exertions of the Cape Ann Society, in which they spent some hundreds of dollars. For this, every member of the body owes them a debt of gratitude, and the fulness of the body is bound to acknowledge the services of these venerable champions of religious liberty to the latest ages of time.

For many, very many happy, thrice happy years, Brother Murray continued with them, loving and being loved to almost a degree of adoration. But that God who giveth none account to us, of any of his ways, permitted a call from the Boston Society to sound well-pleasing in his ears, and the first fruits unto Christ were left for a latter-day harvest. Application having been made to me in this forlorn estate, the attention of the brethren was directed to Brothers Lathe and Barnes: of the twain, they chose the latter, and profited by his ministry until new scenes opened on Brother Barnes' eyes, and he also quitted the ground.[4] Brother Hosea Ballou succeeded, and abode for many days. He also left; and Brother John Foster succeeded to him. Brother Foster has quitted, and for half a year they have been destitute of preaching. The vacancy, this summer, has been supplied once a month by your friend, and it is possible that I shall supply until I am relieved by some of my brethren.

The society appear perfectly sensible that to continue in this mode will finally prove their ruin as a society, and are anxious that the evil may be avoided by your settlement. Persuaded of a truth that you have the talents and the heart instrumentally to do much good, they are in anxious expectation of a preparatory visit, when all their intentions towards you will be officially made known.

So far as I am acquainted with the people, I feel a strong persuasion that they are kind, charitable, Christian-like and sincere. I think it improbable that their present circumstances will admit of more than seven dollars per Sabbath; but with the addition of marriages, presents, &c., it will amount to

[4] To go to Maine, where he became the useful and honored pioneer of our cause.

more, and I should suppose that you might count on 450 dollars a year. But whether you count on this or no, they are a people who have too much pride to let their minister know want, and from their treatment of and to Brother Murray, I am confident that you would be as happy as this temporal state of being admits, as Mr. M. has confessed since he left Cape Ann, that he has had reasons to be sorry for it.

What paternal, or acquired estate you may possess, it is impossible for me to judge of. But I should imagine that much of your family's support was derived from preaching, and as the country brethren seldom rise above five dollars, and as they seldom employ the whole year, that consequently your prospects are not above two hundred dollars cash per year; and this acquired by an immensity of riding and travelling, in all weathers, which must of necessity take you much from home when a sick wife demands continual cares. How far these remarks may be worthy of consideration, what weight they will have in your mind, what arguments may be offered to invalidate their force, all these things are secrets. But I trust that if you can do no more, you will get some of the brethren to supply your place, and visit the Cape Ann brethren the last Sunday in September, or the 1st and 2nd in October. Should this be your determination, I wish that you would write me by post as soon as you have made it, that I may have the happiness to communicate it to the Cape Ann Society. But should it not be in your power, consistent with your varied engagements, to come on, I must entreat that you would persuade Flagg, or some of the brethren, to take pity upon them, and to watch over this flock until you can visit them.

Brother Murray is greatly desirious to visit New York. Were you at Cape Ann, you might relieve his people part of the time, and any of the time that you were at Boston, I would cheerfully supply at Cape Ann, if requested, for nothing would be more agreeable than a mutual exchange of good offices, and [you may] depend on finding in me a brother who rejoices in every prospect that may brighten [around] you.

I think with respect to myself that I shall not attend the Convention this year, as some circumstances will be a bar. It is out of my power to attend it little short of thirty to forty dollars, inclusive of horse hire and expenses. I have been called upon by various sons of distress to minister to their varied necessities. Many failures have taken place, and disappointed me of cash to a large amount. My school, in consequence of some new schools being opened, is worth but about

half what it has been. My family have had some sickness, and my health will not bear a great deal of fatigue. I would therefore wish you to be prepared with the sermon that was requested at your hands, or mine, and that you would take the pleasure of the Convention on your shoulders, if it is not a burthen too grievous to be borne. My heart will be with you. I shall think much of you, shall spend a part of the day in prayer for you, and hope that an answer of peace may be given from the Master of Assemblies. By an opportunity which I expect through the medium of Brother Lathe, or Pillsbury, I hope to forward some letters to the Convention, and that from some of the brethren I may receive an account of the proceedings of the days.

Brother Barnes has written me that he cannot attend, as the season has been so backward that his fall business will require attention.

I must again entreat that you will pay special attention to the request of the Cape Ann Society, that you will bring their petitions before God, and may the Lord say, Go, and I will go with thee. Your affectionate Friend,

GEO. RICHARDS.

Superscribed, "Mr. Edward Turner, Minister of the Universal churches, Sturbridge, Brookfield P. Office, Massachusetts. The P. Master is requested to forward this to Sturbridge, if possible."

II.

PORTSMOUTH, April 2, 1804.

MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: — I rec'd your kind epistle of March 19th, which convinced me that I was mistaken with respect to your forgetfulness, as this letter was written previous to your receipt of mine, although it would ever be a pleasure to receive an acknowledgment of the safe arrival of the Circulars and other Conventional despatches, as I have reason to think that in some instances they are thrown away by the intentional neglect of unfriendly Post Masters.

It gives me pleasure that your family enjoy, thro' divine goodness, a more comfortable state of health than they have enjoyed heretofore; and it adds to my pleasure that your prospects in future are brightening, as I have received assurances from Boston that you will be called as co-pastor with Mr.

M[urray], if they can effect it, and, in case of his demise, that you will be translated to that ready golden candlestick.

I am pleased that our beloved Brother Murray has it at heart to visit in his way, and can only regret that I fear his countenance is not toward me as it has been. Could I have thought that the conversation which took place between you, Ballou and myself at the Conventional table[5] would have produced such a scene of confusion and wrath as it did, my tongue should have been palsied in eternal silence. And B[allou]'s telling Bro. M[urray], when we wished to soften matters, that I was the very man who had awakened all his suspicions by what I had told him, appeared to me as a very ungracious thing. To speak the plain truth, there was something cuttingly unkind in the manner and the way in which B[allou] brought the matter to a crisis; and the very efforts to waive suspicions of still worse led me to explain, in the moment, the currency of reports, and thereby brought the Report into the face of day. Yet I am conscious that I did it to save the vilest suspicions, for these will sometimes lay hold of the most ingenuous minds. How much I suffer on account of the dear man is only known to the Father of spirits, and I am sorry that he should think I meant him any evil. But it appeared to me, previous to his leaving the Convention, that he felt as much hurt with me as with B[allou]. And in these ideas, I am partly confirmed, as he has never favored me with a line, and I cannot find that he determines to take me in his route of visits. Suffice it to say that no people will treat him with more distinguished attention than mine, and no person with more filial respect than myself; and if you believe me to be sincere in my declarations, you will soften his feelings if possible, provided that any conversation should take place upon the subject.

At the same time, while I think B[allou]'s conduct was far from being commendable in its manner, and the spirit of that evening taken together has nearly determined my future absence from the annual Conventions, I am free to confess that Brother M[urray] was equally wrong in his high-handed opposition to the Articles of Faith, for it was a subject of which he could not judge, and with which he had no manner of business; but feeling a little like David when Joab besieged Rabbah, he determined to put us under the axes and harrows of

[5] General Convention at Winchester, N. H., 1803, where and when our *Confession* was adopted.

his *wit*, and to pass us thro' a brick-kiln whose fires himself had enkindled.

I thank you for the two dozen of subscriptions, and if opportunity presents to augment them, you will be so kind as thus to do, as I am still waiting to obtain the needfuls, as circumstances do not allow me at present to hazard monies; and if I lay out of them for twelve months, which in many instances I have done, it is needful that I should be enabled to wait.

May the continued dew of the divine benedictions rest upon you, and your family and flock be refreshed by the cold, flowing streams from the rock of Lebanon.

I am your affectionate Brother,

GEORGE RICHARDS.

This letter, as are all the following, is simply superscribed, "Rev. Edward Turner, of Sturbridge, at Brookfield P. Office, Massachusetts."

III.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., Aug. 20, 1804.

MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: — I rec'd your kind letter of August 14th about the 19th of the month, and as no opportunity will be better than that of my packages to the Convention, I shall consequently inclose my reply, and trust it to some of the Boston Brethren who will ascend thither.

I am glad that you are pleased with my idea of the arrangements of Conventional services; and as there may be some vacancies, which neither of us will expect, let me recommend ABNER KNEELAND to fill one, as the character that I have heard of him is very excellent, and I know for certain that WALTER FERRISS does not attend.

With respect to my personal attendance, four reasons operate strongly against it: 1st, my health is in a feeble state, not having enjoyed a well day since the last of March, but having a *jaundicy* habit induced at first by a severe cold, and for which medical powers have done as yet but very little, tho' I am still encouraged with the hope of final health. 2dly, I am engaged printing *Preston on Masonry*, which requires my daily attention, and it is impossible to leave the office without ruining the book; and as I expect to realize $600.00 by this work, it is an object of consequence to a man whose family is composed of six daughters, and whose means other ways are small. 3dly, Some family circumstances of a delicate nature, such as

parental attentions to a daughter just rising as woman, who, without vice, has some little *follies*, render it a duty to be at home for the present. And 4th, as I feel that the Convention would still honor me with their full confidence of business, and I have no wish to deny a share of that confidence to the residue of my brethren, I think it no more than respectful to give them *an opportunity* of preparing *one year's business* for the public eye; and it ought also to be added that a sameness unavoidably takes possession of a single individual, and it is probable that this will be avoided by those who may succeed, and perhaps be more gratifying than any of my additional performances.

It gives me pleasure to add that *Brother Ferriss*, in a late letter, gives a flattering account of the proceedings at the *Association No.* 1, *Jericho*, and that they have instituted a second Convention at *Croyden, New-hampshire*, early in October.

Brother Barnes likewise informs [me] that the *Convention* of the Eastern Churches will be holden at *Gray, early* in *September*, and informs [me] that Brother Isaac Root is esteemed a blessing in those parts, and that his labors are exceedingly prospered.

Brother *Thomas Jones* is about to be settled at Cape Ann. He is a *good scholar*, an *excellent preacher*, and a *devout Christian.*

Inclosed are a *number of letters;* and with them are a number of *accompts, subscription-papers*, &c., for various meditated works. You will be so good as to collect what money you can, and in case of collection, forward it to me by some of the Boston Brethren who may be on their return, and from whom I shall receive it safe and sound!

Accept my felicitations that Mrs. Turner is the joyful mother of a living and a perfect child, and may the Lord bless you and yours, both now and ever.

Yours most affectionately,
GEORGE RICHARDS.

P. S. Sept. 3, 1804. As some circumstances have hindered hitherto a public Contribution in my society for the Funds of the Convention, I had a conference last evening with the Wardens, and they request you to deposit on the table ten dollars out of any money which you may receive for me, and credit it as the donation of the Portsmouth Society, the Wardens having promised to repay me said ten dollars here, and this will be the best way of forwarding my Societys' ten dollars for the FUNDS.

IV.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., May 4, 1805.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: — I am bound to acknowledge myself a debtor to your kindness for three letters, all of which ought to have been answered long before now; but a variety of worldly cares have rendered the seed of intention thus far unfruitful.

Your complaint of a rheumatic nature, mentioned in yours of December 22d, I trust has long since ceased, and your late journey towards Portsmouth has led me to hope that your usefulness is completely restored. I call it a journey towards Portsmouth because Boston is but a day's ride between us, and I feel much disappointed at not beholding your face, for all my friends are greatly desirious of seeing you; and we need almost as much help as the men of Macedonia, for a certain Mr. Smith[6] has been here nearly two years this July, and has almost uprooted one or two long-established societies, and appears to be daily making progress. From fifteen to twenty are baptized of a week, and what with continuous preaching, continuous printing and the great diversity of helps that he incessantly employs, it appears to me that he will [word undecipherable] great things and prevail over many. As yet, my little flock has been generally preserved entire, perhaps we may count one loss, and in the meantime several gained; but how long the unity of the body may exist is only known to God, for his art is immense, his aids innumerable, and nothing is left undone that compasses either sea or land to make proselytes. However, I think I am not to believe that the shepherd has a right to dispose of the sheep; and as they cannot be taken from me without His permission, it becomes me to say, in the case of the worst, the Lord's will be done. Nor ought it much to move me, for mutability is one of the characters of man; and Paul, the one Apostle of Jesus Christ in deed and in truth, had to complain of great desertions, and sometimes [was] reduced to say, No man stood with me, but all forsook.

[6] Elias Smith, one of the originators of the Christ-ian Denomination, father of Matthew Hale Smith, and subsequently notorious for his changes to and from Universalism. These labors of his in Portsmouth created intense excitement at the time, and were, it is believed, among the earliest of those efforts which resulted in the organization of the Christ-ian sect. Mr. Smith afterwards became a prominent practitioner of the Thompsonian system of medicine, in Boston and Providence. In his last years, he seemed to have outgrown his religious instability. He died in Providence during the pastorate of Rev. Henry Bacon, generally respected and, it was understood, firm in his Universalist faith.

Who, then, am I? I will not complain, neither will I fear. Let the Lord do that which seemeth good unto him; and if the waters of Abana and Pharpar are better than the waters of the rock of Lebanon, so be it.

I trust that the momentary depression of your spirits by the removal of a dear babe from this vale of tears to the paradise of God, has long since subsided, and that the tranquilizing hope of kings being its nursing fathers and queens its nursing mothers in the rejoicing city of eternal solemnities has long since shed the divinest balm of peace on your afflicted spirit. In truth, these early removals are peculiar marks of divine favor. That infant has gained in Eternity what Eternity itself cannot give to you, that is, a certain number of years cut out of the womb of time, and it will be older than its father in the kingdom of God. And how joyous the reflection, in the last moment of our concluding lives, that one less is left to encounter the rude storms of this world, and that one is at least added to the family of bliss of whose happiness none can entertain the shadow of the shade of a doubt.

My own troubles, of which I gave you a distant hint, have measurably ceased. The dear child for whom I felt much was married this last Sunday evening to a worthy young man, and I trust that the days of her mourning are also ended.

You add that you wish to see me, and at times meditate a visit. My expectations are that Brother Murray will go South about, to the sound of cash, this Summer, and that you will consequently supply his place. Should this take place, Jones, myself and you will do something in the way of exchange, and by this means, we may gain the vision of each other's faces.

With respect to Ballou's Parables explained, I have not seen the work. I wrote to him to send me twelve, and I would pay him in something of the like kind. Whether he received my letter or no, is something of a doubt. But if you have half a dozen left you, forward them to the care of Benjamin Homans, No. 50 Marlboro' Street, Boston, and I will see you or him paid, and if but one, pray send it, as I am desirous to peruse anything on the dark sayings of Jesus, [concerning] which, although he is able to open on the "harp of joy," I confess and feel my inability in many instances.

Brother M[urray] paid us a visit of three weeks this February. I find that he has written you a categorical epistle,[7] to

[7] The letter in Murray's Letters and Sketches, Vol. ii. pp. 318–320, precisely corresponds to this description. May it not have been this "categorical epistle" to Mr. Turner? In it, after describing an interview with the differing brother, Murray says: "Permit me, Sir, to ask, and I entreat, I beseech you to answer me, do the associ-

know what sinners in the Convention hold the sentiments of Brother Samuel Smith. For my own part, I must say the dear old man has been with me a fortnight this winter, and preached very acceptably to my people, and his private discourse was thought still more edifying. It is true that I do not see eye to eye with this watchman. But he may possibly stand in the sunshine, and I may be beneath the cloud. It becomes us all to remember that every man hath his proper gift of God. Smith may have received all he has from heaven; so may Brother Murray; and neither of them need to envy the other. The truth is that Murray insisted on Smith's swallowing his Devil of a Scape Goat, and Smith in return on Murray's believing that the first and second Adam was the same identical man. Here Murray refused to bow the knee, and I suspect that a burning, fiery furnace is heating by both. I intend to keep out of it, for the Son of God cannot walk with either of them in this temper, and to be in the Chaldean flame without him is not a very pleasant situation for Shadrach or Meshach.[8]

By the way, Brother Murray is a little like Ishmael. His hand is against all the Convention. But I hope they will live in the [word undecipherable] of all their Brethren, nevertheless.

Good old Noah Murray has written me a long and a

ated preachers of Universalism adopt such principles as this gentleman avows? Do they really affirm there is no devil, and of course no works of the devil? What, then, did the Redeemer descend from the highest heavens to destroy? . . . . What, then, becomes of the Bible? My soul sickens, and my limbs tremble, while penning such impious, such profane conclusions as are inevitably involved in such God-dishonoring principles. Once more, I pray you tell me whether all your associated preachers thus think, thus speak? or if happily there be exceptions, for the love of heaven, name them to me. I am pierced to the soul. Hasten to me your answer; hasten your presence."

[8] Among the papers of Mr. Turner, I find a letter from Rev. Dr. Ballou, making inquiries on several points, and especially as to the meaning of various allusions in Murray's Letters. Of these latter inquiries, the first is, "Who was the preacher with whom Murray was so much offended?"—Vol. ii. pp. 319, 320 (the letter cited in preceding note, and erroneously supposed by Rev. Mr. Balch in a note to his sketch of Caleb Rich, *Quarterly*, Jan., 1872, p. 75, as "of H. Ballou.") To this, Mr. Turner replies:

"The preacher with whom Murray was so greatly offended was Samuel Smith. This happened at the Convention at Sturbridge, in 1804. Smith had been a Quaker, and his mind was imbued with some mystical notions derived from Jacob Boehme. These were very obnoxious to Murray. Smith infringed on one of M.'s darling ideas, that the scape-goat was the devil; and M. could never patiently endure to have his theories or interpretations criticized or doubted by a Universalist."

In answer to Dr. B.'s other inquiries, Mr. Turner also explained:

"C. R. of W., ii. p. 308, was doubtless Caleb Rich, & S., Adam Streeter. The Mr. M., of Penn., ii. 321 and on, was probably Noah Murray, whom I well knew. There was, however, a Mr. McLean in Pennsylvania, who, as I have heard from the late Mr. Jones, was a powerful preacher. He never, I believe, came to New England."

friendly letter. I have some hopes that he will be this way. Pray, have you heard from him of late, and what is his route?

Your second letter, of April 5th, brought me five dollars from Brothers James Babbit and Walter Ferriss, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, and for which I feel myself much indebted to you. These littles help along. My school has failed for two years past, and on the 5th of June I gave it up to attend to the printing of *Preston on Masonry*, for which I am finally in the hope of realizing $600.00 cash; but as it will be perhaps a twelvemonth previous to my closing all accounts, this is a prospect still at a distance; and my salary as such is by no means adequate to the expenses of my family, it only amounting to $400.00 per year, and paid in such a way that, if a good door was to open elsewhere, I think it is possible that I might leave Portsmouth.

Your third letter, of April 30, was received by Capt. Davis; and it reproved me so gently for my neglect of writing that I determined to repair the fault this day, and have accordingly sat down to write a long letter.

By a letter from Brother Thomas Barnes [of Maine,] of a few days past, they appear to be doing well in those parts. Brother Smith, the nearly anathema of Brother Murray, is now in those parts, evangelizing the natives, and I am confident that he is perfectly sincere and zealous in all that he does.

They wish me to attend the Eastern Convention. My mind is drawn towards Westmoreland.[9] Brother Murray rather advises that I would not attend. But I think it probable that I may, if no unforeseen providence should mar the path of hope.

Pray, have you instituted the Lord's Supper among any of your Churches? We have made some efforts this way. But as yet they have not been crowned with success. Are our brethren in New Hampshire still persecuted for taxes? Are they called to suffer, and do they bear it as Christians ought to?[10] A new Governor, his Excellency John Langdon, and a new House of Assembly will do much for them if they are aggrieved.

Brother Paine is doing well in Washington. . . . The rest of the Brethren I have not heard specially from.

[9] Where the General Convention met in 1805.

[10] These questions are worthy of note, since, considering that Mr. Richards was himself a resident of New Hampshire, they show how isolated he was from his brethren in the western and southwestern portions of the State, and warrants the supposition that the "persecution for taxes" was confined to these sections.

Remember me, I beseech you, in all your prayers; and may an answer of peace be returned to your personal petitions.

Present my affectionate regards to Mrs. Turner, and wish her fervently, in my name, a complete renovation of health.

I am, Dear Sir and Brother,

Yours most affectionately, GEO. RICHARDS.

V.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., July 19, 1805.

DEAR SIR:—Your affectionate epistle of May 21st was duly received, and it merited a much earlier answer; but a thousand calls have hitherto delayed reply.

By a letter from Brother Murray, I find that you are called to Salem. That extension of the sphere of your usefulness rejoices my rejoicing heart, and especially from a self-interested motive, for while at Salem I am in hopes that you will call and pay us a friendly visit.

I am also told by my son that *Foster's*[11] Society in New York are heartily tired of him, and that they wish to fix you in his place. Thus you possess a kind of ubiquity, and all the churches are panting for the improvement of your gifts.

Brother Elias Smith's people go on as usual. They are quite busy bodies, not abiding at home. By their arts and ef-

[11] This is doubtless the John Foster, referred to in Letter I. as having for a time ministered to the Gloucester society. He is mentioned in Whittemore's *Life of Ballou*, Vol. i., p. 156, as of Taunton, Mass., in 1800. Beyond these facts and this allusion to him as having a society in New York, I have been able to learn nothing definite concerning him, except that he was a son of Rev. Isaac Foster, pastor of the old Congregational parish in West Stafford, Conn., who there preached Universal Restoration for many years, (*Quarterly*, Vol. v., p. 94, note,) and brother of Dan Foster, author of "A Critical and Candid Examination," &c., *Mod. History*, p. 386. As to this Society of Foster's in New York, till reading this letter, I never had heard any intimation of the existence of such a society, and Rev. Dr. Sawyer writes me, "That he [Foster] ever had a parish independent of Mr. Mitchell's, I do not think in the least degree probable, or I must have heard of it." But I am informed by Rev. A. C. Thomas, who refers to a series of papers by Rev. W. S. Balch as his authority, that a secession occurred from Rev. Mr. Mitchell's Society, about 1803, the result of which was that meetings were held for a time in Rose St., and afterward, on Broadway, near Pearl St. Mr. Richards represents that Foster left Gloucester about the opening of 1802. May it not be that he went thence to New York, and that 1802 rather than 1803 was the date of this secession, which seems not to have lasted beyond his ministry? The congregation, clearly, never could have had much strength, else Dr. Sawyer must have heard of it; and yet, even if it did not begin till 1803, it had numbers and vitality enough to continue at least two years, and was evidently so much of a society as to be distinctly recognized as an established organization, and to be debating the settlement of another pastor.

forts, and possibly a small degree of imprudence on the part of the Rev. Mr. Willard, the Episcopal minister, I am afraid that they have made his removal certain; and what means they will try to effectuate the removal of others, God only knows.

My Society this year have kindly remembered that I cannot live by the Gospel alone, and have voted me $500.00. When it will be paid, is quite another thing. Of this I feel always confident, that I shall not suffer.

I am sorry that so many of our infant societies suffer for lack of preaching, and I suppose that Lathe's removal to Lebanon has weakened them still more. This quitting ancient posts I am not pleased with. It indicates a love of the world, to my view, tho' possibly the dear man might be drove to it from painful necessity.

The New Hampshire brethren are in a way of being relieved from their pecuniary troubles. The Legislature is willing to recognize them as a sect; and I rather think that the Supreme Judges will not dare to oppose the Legislature.

Brother Joab Young preached for me the first Sabbath in this month, and administered the Sacrament to a few communicants. This has long been wished for by a few serious individuals. I pray God that his best blessings may attend the ordinance.

If my life is spared, I expect to be with the Convention on the last day of its session. Business leads me to visit all the Lodges in the State at that time, to instruct them in the new Prestonian Lectures; and I do not think, according to our arrangements, that I can tarry more than a few hours. But I will do all that I can to be of service, if my counsel, or advice is of any consequence.

The Cape Ann Society is building a large Meeting House for Brother Jones. I pray that their present zeal may not quench love. Societies sometimes dissolve themselves by doing too fast.

Good old Zebulon Streeter has been with me, and abode for a few days. The venerable old man appears to fail. I am afraid that he will not abide long in the flesh. Happy for him when his Master shall call, tho' painful to us who have so long sat under the shadow of his wings.

Ballou's Parables are duly received. I think there are many things to commend in them, much to be thought of with serious sobriety, and perhaps as little to censure as could be reasonably expected. I am told that he is now writing on the Atone-

ment. I shall like to see it; for Ballou has certainly a strong and a daring mind, and he soars, like the eagle, amid the heavens of invention.

If you should hear of old friend Noah Murray on his route this way, bid him welcome in my name, and tell him that he must assuredly pay us a visit at Portsmouth.

You must excuse evident haste. I am pressed with many things. I have twenty-nine sermons to deliver in the course of the coming seven weeks, for certain. How many more, I know not, and with abounding calls, I am really hurried.

My respects wait Mrs. Turner's acceptance, and believe me to be yours, Most affectionately,

GEORGE RICHARDS.

ARTICLE XVII.

Reminiscences of W. J. Fox of London, and of the Author of "Nearer my God to Thee."

IN the neighborhood of Finsbury, a dingy and crowded part of the eastern portion of the old city of London, is a cluster of houses of worship erected in the last century, each having worshippers of strongly marked differences of belief. None of these houses show any striking attempts at external adornment, and have few outward evidences to distinguish them from the inhabited tenements, by which they are closely surrounded. A Roman Catholic chapel backs its rear wall against an Orthodox Conventicle, and its side is presented to the Unitarian meeting-house of Finsbury South Place. Nor do their interiors display any beauty. The Catholic chapel, indeed, has a handsome altar picture of the transfiguration, by Hogarth, I believe; the Orthodox conventicle has a deep well of semi-circular seats, like an overgrown lecture room, and the Unitarian meeting-house is like a large square barn, with high-backed seats, a round, high-raised pulpit or reading desk, placed some distance from the rear wall, and fronted by an organ, with two galleries extending on each side, like short

wings. Its walls are yellow-washed, its ceiling is flat, and the whole indifferently lighted by reason of the crowd of houses abutting it on three sides.

In this latter house, thus obscurely located, crowded audiences weekly assembled, from all parts of the great city and its wide suburbs, and also from many distant English-speaking peoples, to hear the eloquent utterances of William Johnson Fox. To this shrine came the Indian Brahmin, in his striking oriental costume, and the intelligent American, to listen to the most eloquent preacher of the day.

The Rajah Rammohum Roy, while he remained in London, was a constant attendant; his noble countenance of swarthy hue, contrasted with his turban of pale green silk, his long black moustache, and robe of dark blue cloth. This high-caste Brahmin had studied the sacred writings of Persia and India, and the Hebrew Scriptures, and at last settled into a confirmed believer of Christ's pure doctrines. He had established a printing office in his own house in Calcutta, from whence were issued many works of his own, and chief among them, his "Precepts of Jesus," which afterwards was reprinted by the Unitarian Association of England. We remember also meeting in the vestry,—whither Mr. Fox used to retire after preaching, to receive his friends—a gentleman who introduced himself as a Mr. Emerson of Boston, a near relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson; and it had chanced on that day, that Mr. Fox had read certain passages approvingly from the works of the latter, which then were almost new to the British public. Our visitant warmly expressed his gratification at the high commendation Mr. Fox had given to American literature, in the person of his relative. Many leading members of Parliament, literary men, artists, actors and several intelligent mechanics, also attended his preaching, for Fox was ambitious of interesting the thinking portion of all classes, and particularly the working men, in this, the vanguard of the army of thought and progress.

The house was no longer known as Unitarian, but as "Fox's chapel," for he had been read out of the Unitarian

connexion, because he would not pronounce the Shibboleth of the sect, nor submit to be shackled by the negations of that creed. We write of five and thirty years ago. There was a severance of the congregation in consequence, the majority holding to the building and to their pastor. He had many ardent admirers and disciples, both male and female; and being now completely freed from sect, he launched forth in his desire to make liberal Christianity a living, active influence, in every relation of daily life. He brought the words and laws of the statesman, and the acts of the merchant and mechanic, to the tombstone of Christian truth and morals. He astonished many by boldly discarding texts, for he believed that many more than Iago could quote Scripture to their own purposes. He preached no controversial doctrines, but enlarged on our duties and responsibilities as Christians in such eloquent language—always speaking extemporaneously—that he made the hearts of his hearers glow within them. His published sermons on "Christian Morality" and "Mental Slavery" and kindred topics, were eagerly read by much larger congregations out of doors. He was without doubt, at the time I write of, the most popular preacher of the day. Henry Ward Beecher's course and tone of teaching remind us of what W. J. Fox was in his early days. Both had the logical faculty closely united with the poetical, and each sympathized with struggling humanity under whatever guise exhibited. Born in the ranks of labor, Fox was entirely at one with the working man. Raised a farmer's boy, and apprenticed to a weaver, he showed such early ability, as induced some good people to send him to the celebrated orthodox school of Dr. Pye Smith; yet, as Fox once said, "I was suckled on the milk of orthodoxy, but it turned sour on my stomach." There never was any sourness in himself, for few possessed a warmer, more glowing, or more sympathetic nature. Now, in his maturity, he not only used his voice, but his pen, for the advancement of the working classes, in obtaining reforms from the ruling few.

The first article in the first number of the *Westminster Review* was his; he was a constant contributor to the *Morning*

Chronicle, then in the zenith of its popularity, and subsequently became editor of the *True Sun*, a daily evening paper, that did great things for reform, but was sold to the whigs, and discontinued when they gave Daniel Whittle Harvey, the chief owner, office. We were at that time told by the private secretary of Daniel O'Connell, that the *True Sun* was always the first paper O'Connell sought out, when the London mail was delivered to him in Dublin. Fox also edited the *Monthly Repository*, a work of high merit, in which many authors, now famous, first fledged their pinions. In this serial, John Stuart Mill published his first work, "Translations of Plato," which extended through a long and interesting series. Harriet Martineau, in the *Repository*, first displayed her remarkable powers; her celebrated brother too, Rev. James Martineau, was a frequent contributor, and many young poets, besides Robert Browning, and Robert Nichol, gave utterance to their lofty aspirings in its pages. Here, Mrs. Mary Howitt and her gifted husband, A. H. Horne, Mrs. Sarah Flower Adams, her sister, Eliza Flower, and Mrs. and Miss Gillies, could be traced in their poetical outflowings, or in graceful and genial tales and criticisms.

Fox always took an active and prominent interest in the political movements of the day. During the mighty agitation preceding the passage of the first reform bill, that of 1830, his counsels, and his eloquent exhortations and warnings, were used successfully in restraining the excited populace from hasty and violent action, which would have given Wellington the excuse for bringing in military interference; and thus bloodshed and anarchy were avoided. Fox was then President of the National Reform League, and his remarkable influence, both of person and of voice, could alone restrain the violence of the popular excitement. We were told then by one who was present that if Fox were to preach to the age of Methusaleh, he would not accomplish more than he had by one speech he made, restraining the people within legal bounds, after the excited address of a popular demagogue, an Irishman, who was a representative leader from the parish of Mary-

lebone. This fiery speaker had exhorted a resort to arms, encouraged by the knowledge of the anticipated arrival of one hundred thousand armed men, who had assembled at Birmingham. This speech by Fox was uttered at the turning point of the excitement, and it alone caused the agitation to become all-powerful, because it was altogether moral. Perhaps at no time since, has England been so near the verge of a bloody revolution.

Ten years after this, the agitation for repeal of the Corn Laws, which demanded cheap food for the ill-fed millions, began; and Fox threw the whole force of his influence and genius into the question. This agitation was not for political liberty, but for the freedom of exchanges and labor; and its moral influences were even more important than the material. With Cobden, Bright, Villiers, and many others, Fox helped both by tongue and pen, in emancipating trade, and in educating the masses up to a right understanding of this vital question, by which the well-being and honest recompense of labor, could be secured to the hard-working millions. This agitation was continued for nine long years, years of great distress and deprivation to many, for the landlords held the legislative means of restricting foreign importations of the people's "daily bread," whereby all articles of consumption were rendered scarce and dear.

Any one being then in London, and having visited the free trade meetings held weekly in Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres, but must have been struck with the wonderful power of the eloquence of these men, upon the crammed audiences that assembled within their walls. William C. Bryant has vividly described one of these meetings, and mentions the remarkable power of Fox's eloquence. But if the people were clamorous for cheap food, they had little power inside the walls of Parliament, and it was only "by making the ruling few uneasy," that they could get their rights. Yet the landlords were determined not to yield. Most of them really believed their acres would become sterile if they were not protected from the dreaded superabundance of food from America, Rus-

sia, and other grain-producing nations; they loudly declared if cheap food were permitted to come in free, England could nevermore be safe, for her very existence was dependant on foreign countries. And what if it were? Full soon it came to pass, by God's providence, that the whole earth was proved to be His, and the fulness thereof; for, while He permitted such a famine as occurred in Ireland in 1846–8, He yet had provided in the States and in other grain-growing countries, most ample abundance of food for the famiue-stricken peoples of Great Britain. Sir Robert Peel was thus forced to abate the evils of the Corn Laws, and to admit breadstuffs without duty into Ireland and afterwards England. Free importations have continued ever since, and apparently, Great Britain will always require such supplies from abroad. The fears of the land owners were soon proved to be baseless; breadstuffs have on the average been as high as before, that is, at remunerative prices, but these prices have been more equable, and rents and real estate have increased four-fold, and trade eight-fold. Of course this increase of commerce and in the value of land, could not have occurred unless the people were better remunerated for their labor than before. So influential and popular had Mr. Fox become, the large town of Oldham, near Manchester, elected him as its representative in Parliament, and he continued to serve them as such for many years.

Another important reform was instigated by Mr. Fox, looking to the great delight felt by the people, in dramatic representations. In no other language does the world possess so rich a fund of high thought and morals, as all English-speaking peoples have in the works of Shakespeare. Yet how little is yet known by the vast majority of the people, who pride themselves on being of the same lineage, and using the same tongue as he and his contemporaries! Nay, Shakespeare's writings were known to the masses chiefly through perverted changes, called improvements, which entirely distorted many of his brilliant and perfect conceptions. W. C. Macready had striven to revive Shakespeare in his purity; and his reform

reached not only to the alteration of the big wig, long waistcoat, and knee-breeches, in which Coriolanus or Julius Cæsar appeared, but to the language and scenery of each play. The theatre itself had also become a temple of vice and profanity, and both before and behind the curtain morals were set at naught, and vice was sanctioned. No wonder the religious world denounced it. But immorality and intemperance are not inherent in dramatic representations, nor can they be uprooted by denunciation, nor by laws that cannot be enforced. How, then, rescue from these evil associations this national inheritance and most potent influence for good, and reproduce on the stage Shakespeare's immortal dramas in their entirety, and fitly present to the people the ennobling poetry of this our highest intellect? It has been truly said that all are under moral influences while witnessing a good play; the good is applauded, the evil condemned. The delight is confined to no class, age, or sex, all are interested, for the love of the dramatic is an instinct of our nature, and he is a good educator as well as moralist if he can make its influence subservient alone to good. Macready had partially succeeded in making some reforms of this kind, during his first attempt at Covent Garden theatre, in 1837. He had been ably seconded by Fox as theatrical critic in the *Morning Chronicle*, but the attempt was new and not profitable. The theatre lost some bad visitors, and had not yet gained the better sort.

Not daunted at his partial failure, and not wishing to infringe upon his funded money, which Macready had wisely invested for the future support of himself and family, an appeal was made by his friends, W. J. Fox and John Forster, biographer of Charles Dickens, &c., for a loan to sustain the theatre for a second session under Macready's management. "The *private* circular" then issued, dated London, June 23d, 1838, stated, that "a few friends of the drama having met together to devise some plan for sustaining the beneficial impulse which has been lately given, in Covent Garden Theatre, to the higher interests and objects of the dramatic art, the discussion shaped itself into the following resolutions, and were unanimously adopted: —

'That the management of Covent Garden Theatre, during the present season,—by several splendid revivals of the genuine plays of Shakespeare, by the general and unrivalled efficiency that has distinguished the representation, either of new or of standard productions, and by various arrangements tending to elevate the character and influence of theatrical amusements,—has been an honorable, and in a degree, a successful experiment on public taste, in behalf of the Dramatic Art and Dramatic Literature.

That for this great experiment, the public are indebted to the energy, the genius, and the disinterestedness of Mr. Macready; whose continuance in the management of Covent Garden Theatre is essential to those triumphant and lasting results which may now, under his direction, be confidently anticipated.

That to justify the continuance of Mr. Macready, in a position implying so much of exertion and sacrifice on his part, and to facilitate the arrangements for the coming season, it is expedient to raise in sums of £50 each, a fund of not less than £2,500; with the understanding that in the event of adequate success the amount shall be repaid from the net profits of the season; and also that in the event of loss, to half the amount so formed, the contributors shall have the option of withdrawing from any further risk the remaining moiety of their contributions."

Before the meeting separated, the amount of shares subscribed for exceeded a thousand pounds. Among the names of the subscribers are those of E. L. Bulwer, M. P., Wm. Serjeant Talfourd, M. P., John S. Mill, Charles Dickens, George Bartley, J. P. Harley, H. B. Fearon, J. T. Leader, M. P., Daniel Gaskell, George Cattermole, Henry P. Smith, P. A. Taylor, S. Courtauld, F. Johns, &c., &c. Thus supported, the theatre was put on a new and greatly improved standing. The magnificent saloon, formerly the resort of the lascivious of both sexes, and where drinking and debauchery had been openly encouraged, was remodeled, and no improper persons of either sex were admitted. There, friends during the interacts could meet for a few words of social converse, or of criticism, and return again to their seats in the boxes without being offended by gross language or insulted by contact with those who lived by impurity.

Perhaps nothing so intensely exciting was ever exibited, in a crowded audience of English people, as Macready's acting in Henry V. and the battle scenes before Calais or Agincourt. His own energy and fire touched the latent organ of combativeness so largely developed in the national cranium. The whole season was eminently successful as a money speculation; but the good it effected, in the improvement of public morals and in the higher walks of poetry, art, dress, and decoration, are beyond computation in money.

But to return to the religious services at Finsbury South Place. In addition to his celebrated preaching, a delightful musical service was introduced, the like of which no dissenting congregation had ever before attempted. It was a complete success, and an ever gratifying source of pleasure.

In 1840, there appeared a small book entitled, "Hymns and Anthems," which was published by his brother, Charles Fox, of Paternoster Row. This choice collection was edited by the two sisters, Eliza and Sarah Flower; the first, a musical composer, and the other, Sarah, contributing many beautiful poems of her own. In this unpretending little work, costing but a shilling, first appeared the now well-known and universally esteemed lines, "Nearer my God to thee." The whole compilation, containing one hundred and fifty piecs, is formed from the words of Holy Scriptures, and the writings of poets, and we think we are safe in saying that a more beautiful collection does not exist in the English language. A list of the authors would include the very noblest names in the rich annals of British song, — from Chaucer, Shakespeare, Bacon and Herbert, to Longfellow, Ware and Bryant, Shelley, Scott, Wordsworth; and Mrs. Adams, Harriet Martineau, Mary Howitt and many others.

Eliza Flower composed, or adapted, music to almost all these gems, enshrining them in sounds of such sweet potency, as gave the book a double sacredness. A previous work of hers, entitled "Musical Illustrations of the Waverly Novels," showed that she possessed not only the genius requisite fitly to match the snatches of songs of Sir Walter, in their various moods,

with music, but was also able to enter into and give the dramatic and metaphysical characteristics of the persons his genius had created. A notice of this work here — which received the highest commendations from musical critics, and particularly from an able and appreciative writer in the *Westminster Review*, 1831,—would lead us too far from our present purpose. After this work and a small one, "Songs of the Months," which appeared for a whole year in the *Repository*, Eliza Flower devoted herself to sacred music, in which she undoubtedly excelled even her own previous publications. She has grouped these sacred compositions under three heads, Adoration, Aspiration and Belief. They are now out of print; and perhaps we are the only possessor in this country of what appeared from 1840 to 1846, when the sweet singer died.

The intention of Mr. Fox and his co-laborers in congregational singing, was to make it and the words serve as the audible prayers and aspirations of his fellow worshippers. It was to be the outward expression of their worship; and the idea was effectively carried out by Eliza Flower, who gave her undivided attention to perfecting the singing, and leading both the choir of selected voices and the masses of sound, produced by the crowded congregation into a perfect whole. She knew it was vain to expect good music without diligent practice, and that the masses must be led by a well-trained choir; the effects of the choir being also heightened by the mass of the voices of the congregation. Her sister Sarah assisted her, as we shall see, with some of the most beautiful hymns in the language.

Of the paternity of these two fascinating and genius-gifted sisters, there is a charming piece of romance. They were the only children of Benjamin Flower, who, at the close of the last century, was editor and proprietor of the then celebrated *Cambridge Intelligencer*. This publication was perhaps the first, as it was then the best, advocate for legal and ecclesiastical reforms. It was boldly as well as ably edited, and its influence was much increased by reason of the deep religious tone it brought to bear on all political discussions; it was the proto-

type of the *London Examiner*, of the times of Leigh Hunt and Albany Fontblanque, so witty, sharp, and trenchant, as well as so thoroughly in earnest. Mr. Flower, in the *Intelligencer*, having called in question the propriety of the Episcopal bishops having seats in the House of Lords, he was prosecuted by the government lawyers, in those times of rank Toryism, tried for libel, convicted, and condemned to fine and imprisonment. Though confined within prison walls, Mr. Flower was not idle, he still wrote for his paper, and among other writings he edited the works, in six volumes, of his dear friend, the celebrated Rev. Robert Robinson, a Baptist preacher of Cambridge. Mr. Robinson may be remembered now, by his beautiful hymn beginning,—

"Mighty God! while angels bless thee,
May an infant lisp thy name;
God of men as well as angels,
Thou art every creature's theme!"

Mr. Flower's incarceration caused considerable commotion, even in those times of Tory supremacy; he was visited in prison by many friends who sympathized in his manliness and sufferings, and among others by an entire stranger to him, a lady of the name of Gould, from a distant part of England, who was attracted by his devotion to truth and reform, and who had commisseration for his sufferings. Their friendship ripened into love, and they were married after he had regained his liberty. From this union were born the two daughters whose names we have mentioned. Their mother's family had entirely withdrawn their countenance from the union of their daughter with a man convicted of a crime by the law, and who had been imprisoned; and Mr. Flower, having never sought their friendship, the families were entirely separated. It must have been some twenty-five or thirty years after this marriage that a young lady, a stranger, called on the Misses Flower in London, sending up her card as Miss Gould from Devonshire. This was a daughter of their mother's brother, who now, at her father's request, after so long a lapse of time, had called to assert her relationship, and to renew family ties. She was most cordially welcomed, and that same evening we had the

honor of an introduction to her as their "new-found cousin." There was a marked beauty in the family; and this young lady bore a striking resemblance, as they told me, to their long-dead mother. After this visit from their cousin, the attachment was mutual, and was continued till the deaths of the two sisters.

Beauty of person, however, was not the only outward gift these most charming sisters had received. They showed their kind and sympathizing natures to all. They possessed the fascination of naturalness; and though they could not but be conscious of superior intellectual endowments, they displayed a loving appreciation for all and to all, however different their education or capabilities. Never, perhaps, were there two women who so infused themselves into the loving affection of all, who had the privilege of their friendship. Eliza, unmarried, died of consumption in 1846; Sarah was married to William Bridges Adams of London, well known to the public as an extensive builder of coaches and rail-cars; and among the initiated was acknowledged to be possessed of a most sharp and caustic pen, in political strife. Several articles of his, attacking Sir Francis Burdett, when the liberal baronet was forsaking his old love—the cause of the people—and slowly sinking into toryism and dotage, appeared in the *Examiner* over the signature of Junius Redivious. Mr. Adams has also published several books on carriage-building, and on traction and locomotion. He had travelled abroad many years.

Mrs. Adams, thus happily mated, and in most comfortable circumstances, gave her pure mind—she had no children—to writing poetry for "Hymns and Anthems," fugitive pieces for the *Repository*, and articles for the *Westminster Review*. Her most ambitious work appeared in 1841. It is entitled "Vivia Perpetua," a dramatic poem in five acts. This is the name of an actual Roman lady, who, in the year 204, became a convert to Christianity, and who received death by the sword, after having suffered cruel mutilation by wild beasts in the arena. The authoress beautifully describes the steadfast faith of a mind, so impressed with the influences of Christ's teachings and example as to raise her above the fear of a horrible death.

It would draw us too far from our main purpose in this article, to follow the exquisite fancies of this beautiful poem, but we may return to it at a future time.

In describing the musical services of Fox's chapel, we must blend the poetry and music together; for the music was so "married to the immortal verse," they can never be divorced by those who came to know them together. Indeed, it is in their perfect and complete harmonic adaptability, and in the dramatic unity one with the other, that their choice excellence consists. The little book before noted, "Hymns and Anthems," was first published in two parts. The first part had but few original poems; but the fine art of the adapter was shown in joining the new selection of hymns to musical compositions well-known and esteemed; afterwards, in the second part, the sisters aimed at and succeeded to, higher because entirely original, flights. Of the perfectness of the adaptation of the selected music to the beautiful poems, we will give a few examples, referring to well-known musical compositions. Here is hymn LX. The words are Longfellow's, as is well-known; and some friends were of opinion that it might be called the gem of the collection:—"Tell me not in mournful numbers." This is set to the air of Rousseau's Dream, and in this the art of the adapter is shown by varying the refrain, not according to the sequence of the words, but according to the sense; as thus,—the repetition of the refrain is first on the first two lines, and in subsequent verses on the last two. Again, in hymn X, also Longfellow's,—"Wondrous truths, and manifold as wondrous." These are set to the "Sicilian Mariner's hymn," and by a very slight change are intimately united. And yet another, the author of the words being unknown. They are "married" indissolubly to the famous old chant known as Langdon. Let our musical readers try them. But first let us point out the nicety of the adapter, who, to make the rhythm perfect, transposes for the singer the word "within" in the third line by beginning the line with it. It will be perceived, though not changed in the print, it adds a perfectness to the singing, which it would not possess without such a transposition.

"Say not the law divine
Is hidden from thee, or afar removed;
That law within would shine,
If there its glorious light were sought and loved.

Soar not on high,
Nor ask who thence shall bring it down to earth.
That vaulted sky
Hath no such star, didst thou but know its worth.

Nor launch thy bark
In search thereof upon a shoreless sea,
Which has no ark,
No dove to bring this olive-branch to thee.

Then do not roam
In search of that which wandering cannot win.
At home! at home!
That word is placed, thy very heart within.

Oh! seek it there,
Turn to its teachings with devoted will:
Watch unto prayer,
And in the power of faith this law fulfil."

And one more, to show the admirable adaptability of the old music to new words. The air is the well-known one entitled Avison, words by Sarah Flower Adams:

"Sing to the Lord! for his mercies are sure;
His goodness and wisdom forever endure.
The wide-stretching earth with its beauties all teeming,
Its mountains, its valleys, or lofty or fair;
The sun in his rising, the stars nightly gleaming,
The sea in its depths — still his wonders declare.
Sing to the Lord! for his mercies are sure;
His goodness and wisdom forever endure.

Sing to the Lord! for his mercies are sure;
His goodness and wisdom forever endure.
Though by oppression his people sore troubled,
May suffer in bondage, or languish for light;
His mighty right arm, with a power redoubled,
Can tyranny quell, and redeem for the right.
Sing to the Lord! for his mercies are sure;
His goodness and wisdom forever endure."

We could fill all our space with other beautiful illustrative extracts, for the musical artist has drawn into her captivating net compositions of Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Mozart, giving each a new existence in this collection. Notice these words from Goethe, with accompaniment from Beethoven:

"O'er silent field and lonely lawn
Her dusky mantle night hath drawn;
At twilight's holy heart-felt hour,
In man his better soul hath power.
The passions are at peace within,
And still each stormy thought of sin —
The yielding bosom, overawed,
Breathes love to man and love to God."

And lastly, Mrs. Adams's words, fitly mated to Mozart's music:

"O human heart! thou hast a song
For all that to the earth belong,
Whene'er the golden chain of love
Hath linked thee to the heaven above.

O human heart! what deed of thine
Could gain a kingdom so divine?
'Twas asked but this, in accents mild—
The gentle spirit of a child.

O human heart! that singest still
Through chastening good, misreckoned ill;
Thou mind'st Bethesda's fount to feel,—
The angel troubles but to heal.

O human heart! thou hast a song
For all that to the earth belong,
Whene'er the golden chain of love
Hath linked thee to the heaven above."

We could go through the whole book, and fill our pages with ever beautifnl illustrations, but must proceed to note the evident purpose of the musical composer, to blend the voices of choir and congregation in harmonious unison: the one lending softness and expression to the deep diapason of the chorus of the congregation. Two instances must suffice. The following words are by W. J. Fox, music by Miss Flower. The choir sings the whole verse, the congregation repeating the refrain to each. It is easy to see what a great deal may be gained in this simple air by a judicious use of the lights and shadows of sound:

"Gracious Power, the world pervading,
Blessing all, and none upbraiding,
We are met to worship thee.
Chorus.—We are met to worship thee.

Not in formal adorations,
Nor by servile deprecations,
But in spirit true and free.
We are met to worship thee.

By thy wisdom mind is lighted,
By thy love the heart excited,
Light and love all flow from thee.
We are met &c.

And the soul of thought and feeling,
In the voice thy praises healing,
Must thy noblest homage be.
We are met &c.

Not alone in our devotion,
In all being, life, and motion,
We the present Godhead see:
We are met &c.

Gracious Power, the world pervading,
Blessing all, and none upbraiding,
We are met to worship thee.
We are met &c."

The only other instance we can give—yet there are several of a like kind—is perhaps even more distinctly beautiful in the swell of the *forte* in the refrain after the plaintive *piano* of the female voices in the choir. It has always impressed us with a sense of the worshipper, longingly drawing near, and yet nearer, to the footstool of the revered and beloved Father! The music steals forth in the minor key, but bursts with force into the major, with the refrain. We give two verses:

"How precious is thy goodness, O God!
The children of men seek refuge
Under the shadow of thy wings:
For thy mercy endureth forever and ever.
Chorus.—Thy mercy endureth forever and ever.

Thou makest the outgoings of the evening
And the morning to rejoice;
Thou crownest the year with thy goodness;
Thy footsteps drop fruitfulness.
Thy mercy &c.

We wish we could give the music that Miss Flower has put to the thoughtful words of William C. Bryant, so expressive of the effect on a religious and poetical mind, is the ceaseless flow of humanity as seen in London, and perhaps nowhere else; grander as it is than the mighty and continuous fall of Niagara, or even of the mightier sea. For the ceaseless flow of these is but material and may be changed; while the onward march of humanity is for an immortal perpetuity. Bryant's lines begin,—"Not in the solitude."

We must not leave the first part of "Hymns and Anthems" before we mention one, in which Miss Flower took particular delight and to which she gave imperishable music. The following words are acknowledged to have been obtained from "Christian Ballads," published in Boston, U. S., and, as she said to us, all the more valuable because they showed the love of New England for the old country. The music, in the words of a writer in the *Westminster Review* for September, 1846, "is one of those happy inspirations that would have done honor to the genius of Handel, and will live as long as the National Anthem, if not destined one day to supersede it."

"Now pray we for our country,
That England long may be
The holy, and the happy,
And the gloriously free!
Who blesses her is blessed!
So peace be in her walls;
And joy in all her palaces,
Her cottages, and halls."

The sisters had now gained the confidence that attends success, and in the second part they both exceeded their former triumphs. The book opens with that sweet morsel from Coleridge, with music fully equal to it, by Eliza Flower,—

"He prayeth best who loveth best,
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

No word-painting can give any conception of the sweet, loving sounds that attend "For the *dear* God."

Mrs. Adams now came forth with one of her characteristic songs, the words of which sing of themselves; the last line in each verse making the chorus:

"Oh! I would sing a song of praise,
Natural as the breeze
That stirs amongst the forest-trees,
Whispering ever,
Weary never,
Summer's prime or wintry days—
So should come my song of praise.
Chorus.—So should come our songs of praise.

Oh! I would sing a song of praise,
Sweet as breathing flowers,
That ope to greet the earlier hours;
Never-ending
Incense sending
Up, to bless their parent rays—
So should wake my song of praise.

Oh! I would sing a song of praise,
Holy as the night,
When heaven comes to us in the light
Of stars, whose gleaming,
Influence streaming,
Draws us upward while we gaze,
So should rise my song of praise.

To thee, O God, a song of praise,
With breeze, and bloom, and star,
To thee, who made us what we are—
Blessed Spirit,
We inherit
All from thee; then let us raise
Songs of praise—immortal praise.

It may be judged how fine the chorus could join in with a monotone after the bird-like song of the solo.

Another, also by her, is equally effective; and it was always sung with the assistance of the congregation assembled below.

"Living or dying, Lord, I would be thine!
Oh, what is life?
A toil, a strife,
Were it not lighted by thy love divine.
I ask not wealth,
I crave not health —
Living or dying, Lord, I would be thine!
Chorus.—Living or dying, Lord, we would be thine.

Oh, what is death?
When the poor breath
In parting can the soul to thee resign;
While patient love
Her trust doth prove —
Living or dying, Lord, I would be thine.

Throughout my days,
Be constant praise
Uplift to thee from out this heart of mine:
So shall I be,
Brought nearer thee —
Living or dying, Lord, I would be thine.

We confess ourselves bewildered which to choose among such a variety of beautiful and brilliant pieces, both selected and original. In the following from Shelley, the music is most dramatically suited to the sense. One hears the spring-sounds which pervade that delicious season, in the trill that reminds us of the brilliant gush from the throat of the bird on the white-thorn, and the monotone of the second line that of the herds-boy as he slowly plods over the long downs after his straying sheep, and then the repetition of the concluding word "prophecy" is the echo with which we are all familiar in country sounds.

"When mild winds shake the elder-brake,
Then the wandering herdsmen know
That the white-thorn soon will blow:
Wisdom, justice, love and peace,
When they struggle to increase,
Are to us as soft winds be
To shepherd-boys — a prophecy."

I am here crowded with worthy extracts from Sir Thomas Brown, "While I do rest, my soul advance;" from the Roman Breviary, "O God, unchangeable and true;" from Bishop Taylor, "O make our hearts, blest God, thy dwelling place;" from Lord Bacon, "O God, thou art our home, to whom we fly;" from Milton, whose words have a musical accompani-

ment most true and most striking, in the "cry" that is repeated by three voices, and afterwards by the chorus:

"Defend the poor and desolate,
And rescue from the hand
Of wicked men, the low estate
Of him that help demands.
Defend the poor and desolate!

Regard the weak and fatherless;
Despatch the poor man's cause;
And raise the man in deep distress,
By just and equal laws.

Rise, God! judge thou the earth in might,
The oppressed land redress;
For thou art He who shall by right
The nations all possess"

These short Saxon words are half battles; and the music, to give it the highest praise, is equal to them. This, and a few others of Miss Flower's compositions, have been sung with great effect at some of the political meetings in Crosby Hall and other places in London.

I would fain quote from Coleridge's "Laudamus, Domine," which has most appropriate music; from Carlyle's "Though wandering in a stranger-land;" from John Sterling, Lord Morpeth, Mrs. Barbauld, Dr. Doddridge, Robert Browning, Tennyson and Shakespeare, but must conclude with a spirit-stirring song from poor Robert Nichol, who died at the early age of twenty-nine, after he had brought the Leeds newspaper, that he edited so successfully, up to a high position among the hard-thinking, working-men of Yorkshire. This song of Nichols' ought to be engraven on the hearts of all our young men. It describes the spirit that guided his own short but useful life.

"Arouse thee, soul!
Be, what thou surely art,
An emanation from the Deity—
A flutter of that heart
Which fills all nature, sea, and earth, and sky:
Arouse thee, soul!

Arouse thee, soul!
And let the body do
Some worthy deed for human happiness
To join, when life is through,
Unto thy name, that angels both may bless:
Arouse thee, soul!

Arouse thee, soul!
Leave nothings of the earth;
And if the body be not strong to dare,
To blessed thoughts give birth,
High as yon heaven, pure as heavens' air;
Arouse thee, soul!"

Everything is excellent in this collection, but none perhaps has a more permanent value than that song which has given such universal gratification, "Nearer, my God, to thee." And we must concede that in the States was this *general* satisfaction and appreciation of these charming lines first expressed. The poem had been known in England but to a few of the author's own religious denomination, until after it had gained its popularity among us. Writers or speakers who quoted it knew nothing of its history, or of that of its gifted author. Never, since some few of the psalms of the older poets were given to the world, has a song been so approved. We have seen it repeated by Theodore Parker, the catholic Archbishop Purcell, Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. Thomas Cuyler, who calls it one of the songs of the soul, Methodists, Episcopalians and Universalists. *Every* denomination accepted it as an expression of its own highest worship. At last, it found general circulation in England, which was but the echo from America; and we have noticed that two music-publishers advertised in the *Times* different musical versions to the words, not, however, its own natural companion,—her sister's appropriate accompaniment. The words no doubt are known to our readers but by particular request we repeat them here:

"Nearer, my God, to thee—
Nearer to thee!
E'en though it be a cross
That raiseth me;
Still all my song would be
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!

Though like the wanderer
The sun gone down,
Darkness be over me,
My rest a stone;
Yet in my dreams I'd be
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!

There let the way appear
Steps unto heaven;
All that thou send'st to me
In mercy given;
Angels to beckon me
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!

Then with my waking thoughts
Bright with thy praise,
Out of my stony griefs
Bethel I'l raise;
So by my woes to be
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!

Or if on joyful wing
Cleaving the sky,
Sun, moon, and stars forgot,
Upwards I fly;
Still all my song shall be,
Nearer, my God, to thee,
Nearer to thee!"

"Hymns and Anthems" being complete, and the music nearly so, death saw the sweet musician's mission was ended and carried her hurriedly away in 1846; her loving sister struggled with that insidious disease, consumption, and then followed in 1848. The *Westminster Review* of January, 1849, has the following tribute:

"Mrs. Adams was the younger of two sisters, daughters of Benjamin Flower, to whom, more than to any other man, we owe that liberty of political discussion which has now become identified with national existence.

The inspiration of the purest and noblest feelings was the inheritance of his daughters, and found in them its appropriate manifestation in the sister arts of poetry and music. Eliza Flower in musical composition attained a higher rank than, before her time, had been reached by any of her sex. Nor is it too much to say, that she has been excelled by no living composer in the particular order of composition to which she devoted herself. The first, and as yet but partial, collection of her religious works, entitled, "Adoration, Aspiration and Belief," contains strains of an originality and sublimity, combined with a felicitous musical expression of words as adapted to congregational and social worship, which have never been surpassed.

Of the genius of Mrs. Adams, and the sweetness of character strung to a too exquisite temperament for the storms of earthly trial, we could not give a better evidence or illustration than in one of her own hymns,—the hymn sung over her grave (August 21st, 1848,) by a few of her most loved and sorrowing friends:

'He sendeth sun, he sendeth shower,
Alike they're needful for the flower;
And joys and tears alike are sent

To give the soul fit nourishment.
As comes to me or cloud or sun,
Father! thy will, not mine, be done.

Can loving children e'er reprove
With murmurs, whom they trust and love?
Creator! I would ever be
A trusting, loving child to thee;
As comes to me or cloud or sun,
Father! thy will, not mine, be done.

O! ne'er will I at life repine —
Enough that thou hast made it mine.
When falls the shadow cold of death,
I yet will sing with parting breath,
If comes to me or shade or sun,
Father! thy will, not mine, be done.'

So lived together father and children! So live, forever, in all that is true and beautiful, in all that they felt and combatted for while amongst us. All that is true and beautiful is immortal!"

Sir Roundel Palmer, in his Book of Praise, states that the author of "Nearer, my God, to thee" was but little known, calls her *Miss* Adams, and says she had emigrated to America. This is wrong. Mrs. Adams never came to the States. She had some relatives, we believe, living in Albion, Indiana, but neither of the sisters, daughters of Benjamin Flower, ever came to this country.

Mr. Fox's friends have raised a tribute to his memory, in a collection of his writings, in eleven volumes, published by Trubner & Co., London.

Article XVIII.

Doctrinal Phases of Universalism during the Past Century.

We have recently read an article with this title, in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* of July last, from the pen of Rev. D. Dorchester, a clergyman of the Methodist denomination. He divides the history of Universalism into three periods, which he respectively names, "The Incipient Period," extending from 1770 to 1809; "The Unitarian Transformation,"

from 1809 to 1845; and the "Third Period," from 1845 to the present time. We think these eras might be more correctly termed, The Struggle for Existence, The Controversial Era, and The Period of the Practical Application of Universalism.

Our author favors his readers with a short but accurate sketch of Dr. George De Benneville, Rev. Phillip Clarke and others who preceded Murray, thus adding much to the interest and completeness of his article; and at the same time incidentally revealing the fact that our church did not spring as a "root out of dry ground," but came as an answer to the deep questionings of man's soul.

Mr. Dorchester evidently looks upon Universalism as a reaction from Calvinism, and he emphasizes the idea by stating that "all the first preachers of Universalism were originally Calvinistic, either by profession or by early associations." We cannot tell whether "Siegvolk's Everlasting Gospel' was the fruit of a Calvinistic religious training, or if Dr. De Benneville was a believer in this theology prior to his conversion to Universalism; though we are inclined to think that he was not particularly interested in any form of belief until he espoused Universalism. Whatever his early belief may have been, it was not the cause of his conversion to Universalism; a change brought about by a remarkable vision, somewhat like that of Tennent, though apparently of a larger and more glowing outline. A strange Providence, similar to that which attended Murray, sometimes smiled on him, to make his heart glad. Christopher Sower, in obedience to instructions received in a dream, it is said, sought De Benneville on his arrival in this country, and cared for him until his health, which had been somewhat impaired, was fully restored. Thus the Divine hand seems to have worked for that faith which Olshausen has somewhere beautifully characterized as "a longing deeply rooted in noble minds." Human need and divine help seem to have been the true sources of the rise and progress of the Universalist denomination in this country.

If most of the first preachers of the restitution were "orig-

inally Calvinistic," we must remember that so also were the people at that time, or else we shall be in danger of drawing a false inference. As proof of our position that Calvinism was not the originating cause of Universalism, we desire to call attention to the fact that Origen, and nearly all the early defenders of Universalism, believed in the freedom of the will as thoroughly as Wesley and his followers.

Believing that the Limitarian theologies are true in part, we cheerfully admit that Calvinism and Arminianism have each done something in preparing the way for Universalism; one by teaching the salvation of all for whom Christ died, and the other, that "He tasted death for every man." Our fathers were not slow to perceive the conclusion that must follow from such premises, and one of the first Universalist books ever published in this country, bases its argument on these propositions. Yet the rise of our church is largely independent of these things, for if ever it were true, that

"Before the sage expressed, the heart divined,"

it has been verified in the history of our denomination, which owes its existence to the finer feelings of humanity more than anything else. Logic has been its sword and shield, rather than its *alma mater*.

Our author denies that Mr. Murray believed in future punishment, and tells us that, although "we occasionally find it stated in the Universalist literature of the last forty years that Murray was a restorationist," these assertions were ably and unanswerably refuted by Rev. Thomas Whittemore, the editor of the *Trumpet*, in many of its issues between 1823 and 1838. If this is correct, we have been slow to learn Mr. Murray's real opinions, for our people still have the impression that he believed in future punishment. But is Mr. Dorchester quite certain that he is correct in his position? He quotes an extract from the *Trumpet* of July 8th., 1837, which is very much to the point. It states that "Universalists have always allowed that Mr. Murray believed in future misery, but in no such sense as the Restorationists now do." He also says, "We have seen that Murray and Winchester both believed in a fu-

ture general judgment. Murray believed that *the wicked would suffer the natural consequences of sin and unbelief in the period between death and the judgment*, and then be saved." Mr. Dorchester attempts to justify himself by making a distinction between the natural and the penal consequences of transgression; but his explanation is not satisfactory to Universalists, who believe that punishment is more largely the "fruit of a man's doings," than anything else. The same reasoning that would prove Mr. Murray to have been a disbeliever in future discipline, would also prove that he did not believe in present retribution; for he never denounced any greater penalty on sin than the natural consequences of transgression. Perceiving this the reviewer admits that, according to his definition of punishment, "Mr. Murray did not hold to punishment for sin either in this life or in the next," a conclusion which exhibits a degree of fanaticism that can scarcely be exceeded. In another place he is more candid, and describes Restorationists as "those who believe in a state of discipline after death for the wicked," a statement which necessitates the conclusion that Mr. Murray was a Restorationist. If it seems impossible to reconcile Mr. Murray's ideas of Forgiveness and the Atonement with what we know of the certainty of retribution, let us remember that Mr. Murray is no more involved in the mazes than any believer in what is termed the sacrificial system. Our author virtually confesses this, by vouching for Mr. Murray as "thoroughly evangelical in his views, except at one point, the final holiness and happiness of all men."

Having sufficiently considered this important subject, we leave minor details, and, passing from this period of struggle and trial, come to the era of the "Unitarian transformation."

Rev. Hosea Ballou, the most prominent preacher of Universalism at this period, receives a large share of attention. We are told that he became a Unitarian as early as 1795, and that he published a book in 1811 which defended this doctrine. Mr. Ballou's "Treatise on the Atonement" was the first able presentation of Unitarian doctrines in this country. Univer-

salists were converted to these views by the efforts of their own leaders, and not from outside influence.

Casual readers of Mr. Dorchester's article would infer the reverse, for he does not make any distinction between Unitarian doctrines and the denomination bearing that name. Had our author stated that the Unitarian denomination has existed in this country for only about fifty years, there could have been no misapprehension. He ought to be clear in this regard, because he dwells so pointedly on the relations of Universalists with that body. A clearer statement would also have helped Universalists by revealing the spirit of profound enquiry which, even then, characterized our Church. Mr. Dorchester has done well in recognizing the fact that the doctrinal changes of this period embraced more than a mere transition from Trinitarian to Unitarian views. He says, "The whole denomination became anti-trinitarian, discarding the doctrines of a personal devil, a substitutional atonement, depravity, the special efficacy of Divine grace, regeneration, &c., as held by Murray."

This extract implies a grave charge, and one which we believe to be untrue. Doubtless the early Universalists of this country neglected to employ many cant phrases respecting the "new birth;" but they did not fail to labor for the upbuilding of God's kingdom in the hearts of their people. They improved to some extent the means of grace employed by most of the churches around them, though it is to be confessed that the ill-advised methods frequently employed in orthodox conversions often produced a reactionary spirit, which sometimes showed itself in our congregations. Both parties are wiser now, and many of our Limitarian friends are willing to confess that they once insisted on things which now appear revolting to them, as, that one should be willing to be eternally damned for the glory of God; while Universalists freely admit that they too have changed, and learned new truth with the passage of the years. It is to be regretted, therefore, that our author has represented the transient and incidental as an essential part of our belief in those days; for he has thereby done us injustice. There can be no doubt that Mr. Ballou believed in faith

and repentance as the indispensable conditions of salvation, both here and hereafter.

If the early Universalists did not sufficiently emphasize the conditions of salvation, we find some excuse for their neglect in the considerations we have just presented, the necessity of polemic controversy, and the blessed work which the mere statement of the Universalist doctrine often accomplished. Dr. Ballou, a writer of acknowledged ability and candor, has something pertinent on this point. He says:[1]

"I can remember the time when the single truth, that the grace of God through Jesus Christ, ensured the salvation of all men, actually answered our need, not only for doctrine, but for spiritual influence also. It broke upon men's hearts, as well as upon their understanding, with overwhelming transforming power. Coming out suddenly from under the dark cloud which the doctrine of endless misery had stretched over heaven and earth, the soul was melted into joy, love, and boundless gratitude, at the thought that God would save all. That was the electric point, which fired the public mind and flashed out a broad light on the whole field of man's relations with his Maker. It served, and it served well, for the theme of the pulpit, month after month and year after year. It was always fresh. Mothers and fathers, youths and maidens, old hard-faced men wept for joy at the message, and dwelt upon it in their homes and in their business, and spoke of it to everybody; they could not keep silence their hearts were so full."

Mr. Dorchester's readers are next treated to a description of the "Restorationist Schism," in which the history of that unfortunate and ill-timed sect is drawn out with great candor and fulness. The causes which produced it; the bitterness of feeling which characterized its friends and foes, at the time of its inception; its strenuous efforts for success, and its final death, are all fairly told or shrewdly hinted at. He is wrong, however, we think, when he states that the Restorationists denied "the efficacy of divine grace, through faith in Christ."

We now come to the "third period" of the history of our Church, extending from 1845 to the present time. Our author

[1] Occasional Sermon at U. S. Convention of Universalists, 1847.

says: "We had at first intended to fix upon 1852, the year of Mr. Ballou's death, as the turning point between these two periods, but a closer scrutiny of these years has led us to adopt the earlier date as more nearly marking a transitional stage in the denomination." We are glad to note this concession, for it shows us that, as with the waters which the prophet saw in vision, no single mind could measure the divine life in our Church at that time. It is asserted that the changes of this period were produced by "the decline of Mr. Ballou's vigor, and the new currents of modern thought;" but the last reason does not seem to be a true one, for our denomination appears to have been but slightly affected by outside influences. Universalists have always been accused of having great faith in themselves; and very properly, for their efforts have been largely blessed.

We think less stress should have been laid on the decline of Mr. Ballou's vigor, and more importance given to the influence of those in the denomination who were Restorationists before the "third period" of our denominational history commenced. Though it is alleged that during this era great changes have taken place in the belief of our Church respecting the future life, it is allowed that "the modifications of this period seem not to have extended to the doctrines of the trinity, the atonement, regeneration, a personal devil and a general judgment." These alterations were owing, we are told, to Mr. Ballou's inability to answer objections to his theory of the future life "in a manner which carried conviction to the hearts of his brethren." This extract substantially admits all that we have contended for concerning the recent changes in Universalist doctrine.

Our author divides the Universalists of this period into three classes, according to their belief concerning the future condition of man. One class following Hosea Ballou, believes that after death "there is no other sentient state but what is called by the blessed name of life and immortality." Mr. Dorchester, however, has reasons for believing that even these "*do not now hold this view precisely as Ballou did.*" The second class

includes those "who believe in a state of discipline after death for the wicked;" while the third class, agreeing with Mr. Ballou in many particulars,

"Hold that men will enter into the other world with the same moral character that they have here — that therefore some will start in the race of eternal life more advantageously than others, but all progressing upward forever. The consequences of wickedness in this life will be different degrees of inferiority and disadvantage in character and condition in the other world — an endless deprivation and loss."

He thinks that this class includes a large majority of modern Universalists. Touching "other points," Mr. Dorchester says:

"The Universalists, like the Unitarians in late years, have adopted a kind of mediatorial phraseology, using the same styles of speech, in reference to theological and religious matters, which prevail among the evangelical sects, but which, when they explain them, plainly designate ideas very different from their evangelical meaning. Such a *pseudo* terminology thus becomes a mere semblance, a masked battery, from which destructive vollies are often fired into unsuspecting souls."

Understanding some of the great doctrines of the Bible in a manner different from that of their Limitarian brethren, Universalists do employ certain words and phrases in a somewhat different sense, as they plainly have a right to do; and their opposers have no more right to accuse them of using a "pseudo terminology," than Universalists have to prefer the same charges against Partialists.

Concerning a union of our denomination with the Unitarians, which Mr. Dorchester considers at some length, but little need be said. We think that the two denominations understand each other better than formerly, and also have more charity for each other; but we cannot see that they are any nearer a formal union than they were thirty years ago. Indeed, we feel that they are farther apart; for each has constantly increased its power by educational and missionary efforts, and by its continued progress as a Church. But our

Church is more widely separated from the Unitarian by its principles of faith and action, than by anything else. The central doctrine of the Unitarians is the unity of God, while that of Universalists is the doctrine that "God is love.:' The one is a truth that satisfies the reason principally, while the other reaches the heart, and meets the deepest wants of man's religious nature. Even if it be admitted that nearly all of the Unitarian clergy believe in universal salvation, it must be allowed that this doctrine holds a different place among them from what it does in our Church; for in the one case it is merely tolerated, while in the other it is a fundamental principle.

But these bodies are separated far more by their respective polities. Unitarians impose no doctrinal tests on the candidates for their ministry, simply requiring them to be of good moral character; while our Church, with the largest toleration consistent with a healthy existence, requires a unity of belief on certain fundamental points. Universalists are satisfied with their principles of fellowship, and as they prefer honest avowal to covert disguise, progress to anarchy, and harmony to confusion, they will be likely to persevere in the course they have taken. Even Mr. Dorchester admits that "greater reverence is felt for the Bible among the Universalists as a body," than among the Unitarians. Farther on, he states that "religious activities have been to some extent inaugurated in some of our leading societies," but he has no hope of seeing our denomination spiritualized, because it rejects the Sacrificial system. Universalists are credited with making frequent confessions of spiritual coldness, "without seeming to suspect whether in departing so far from the true doctrine of the efficacy and power of saving grace, through faith in an atonement for sin, into the barren and lifeless sentimentalism of Socinianism, they have not cut themselves off from the only source of spiritual life and power." We presume that Mr. Dorchester describes Universalists as Socinians, merely to emphasize their denial of trinitarian doctrines.

His assertions respecting the condition and prospects of our

Church are gloomy enough; but do they tally well with the facts? Has he considered the history of our Church, which, according to his logic must suffer a constant deterioration in spiritual life; though in point of fact it is continually tending towards a higher religious experience? We feel confident that the last twenty years have witnessed a great improvement in the devotional aspects of Universalism, though aware that much remains to be done. This incompleteness is not owing to inherent defects, we apprehend, but to the magnitude of the work and human imperfection. When has man ever done his work perfectly!

Martin Luther's wife once asked him: "How is it that in the Romish Church there is so much and such fervent prayer, while we are very cold and careless in our praying?" a question which shows that the Reformation itself was open to the same objection that Mr. Dorchester brings against Universalism. It was the spiritual coldness and inefficiency of the Reformed churches, doubtless, that led Grotius to declare that the Reformation had done more injury than good. Some of our readers may remember Luther's reply to his wife's question: "The devil drives them to it," and reflect that the same principle finds illustration in Christendom to-day. Still further, we should consider the principles of human nature and the facts of history, would we completely understand why there is so much warmth and so little light in the Catholic Church; and so much light and so little warmth in the great body of the Reformed Churches. The progress of the race, which has done so much to unfold man's intellect, has done comparatively little to increase his affectional nature. A mother's love has been nearly the same thing in all ages of the world. So the Christian Church, whose power is so largely in the realm of the emotions, was as efficient in the first century as it is in the nineteenth, to arouse religious feeling and cultivate the spiritual affections. All the great offshoots of the Church of Christ have sprung from doctrinal disagreements, and hence have tended to quicken the intellect, oftentimes at the expense of the heart.

The Methodist Church, which seems to be a solitary exception, is unique because it represents a tendency to return to the primitive fervor of the Church; and rests its claims more largely on its warmth and zeal than on any doctrines which distinguish it.

Yet even the followers of Wesley have not equalled, we believe, the fervor and the constancy of the early Church. That was strong enough to force its way among a people utterly hostile to its spread; and relied so much on its power over the hearts of believers that every diversity of belief was allowed except on the fundamental point of Christ's authority. Limitarians, Annihilationists, Universalists, all labored together, and the good work prospered in their hands. Thus the Church existed for more than two hundred years, and very rarely did it lose its hold on any of its members. Indeed, the Methodist Church can scarcely be said to equal the Catholic Church in fervor and religious power; and if it exhibits some results which the Romanists cannot equal, is it not fair to attribute them to its better doctrines, rather than to its superior methods? We cannot help admiring many of the æsthetic accessories of the "Mother Church," nor refrain from contrasting them with the meagre details of Methodist routine. The Catholic Church is like a plant with many roots, and could get along better without the doctrine of endless misery, than could the Methodist. The next fifty years will test the *spiritual* power of Methodism as it never has been tested before.

While pointing out some of the deficiencies of Protestantism, we have not been unaware of the strength which it possesses in those truths which distinguish it. "Truth is mighty," and we may know how powerful it is when we see the most stupendous religious organization that the world has ever known, crumbling to pieces in Europe because it has turned its back towards the light. When better days shall come, love and truth will be crowned powers in the Church of Christ, but until then the present method of progress must continue. This necessitates two radically distinct parties in religion, for

while the religious instincts are conservative, the intellect loves that which is novel, and harmonizes with innovation.

Passing on, we meet with a section which bears the title "The Periods Compared," where Mr. Dorchester attempts to show the changes which have characterized the development of our denomination. At this point we desire to quote the words of an able reviewer[2] of Mr. Dorchester's article. He says:

"There seems to be a design in Mr. Dorchester's article with which we cannot quite sympathize. Fair and accurate as he is, he betrays a purpose to make it appear that there has been a steady falling away from the truth since the first melancholy departure from 'Evangelical' ground. Murray lapsed from belief in Eternal punishment, but still held to the Trinity, Vicarious Atonement, and a General Judgment. But the door being thrown open, Ballou and his confreres went out into the 'Unitarian transformation,' with its whole catalogue of unorthodox doctrines. And although there has been some reaction, the denomination remains substantially on his ground, in common with most Unitarians of the present day. This appears to be about what Mr. Dorchester would have his readers understand. And, of course, he wishes the inference drawn that Universalism illustrates, like all error, the pernicious effects of believing a lie. We make no complaint of this except when, as in a few cases in the article under review, it leads to flippant generalization, or to an unwarrantable use of facts."

Two circumstances appear to have led Mr. Dorchester to dwell thus largely on the changes in our denomination: First, his own theological opinions; and, second, a desire to prove that "Universalism has changed," as well as Partialism. By contrasting all the odd conceits and curious doctrines of Mr. Murray with the belief of our Church to-day, it will be seen that great changes have taken place in Universalist belief; but when we consider that Mr. Murray failed to grasp the relations of a belief in universal salvation to other doctrines,

[2] From a brief critique in the Universalist, Nov. 18th, 1871.

these changes, contrary to the representations of our author, redound to the credit of Universalists.

Even the editor of *Zion's Herald* has the candor to admit, that "when the doctrine of endless misery is eliminated from Orthodoxy, the whole system goes to pieces." Mr. Dorchester goes on to make the sweeping charge that "only one point of doctrinal agreement runs through all the periods, namely: The final holiness and happiness of all men."

As he has devoted much space in showing the changes that have taken place in Universalist belief respecting the person of Christ, should he not also have stated that, despite all changes, our Church has always believed in the Authority of the Saviour's words? Here then are two "points of agreement." We would also ask, what proof he has that Universalists have not always believed in the disciplinary nature of punishment? Mr. Winchester strongly insisted on this doctrine, and, though Mr. Murray objected to his views, it was only because he supposed that Mr. Winchester regarded punishment as a Saviour, instead of a preparation for the regenerate life. Since those days our Church has been a unit on that point—which is a third point of doctrinal agreement.

Universalists have always regarded God as the Father of all; not merely in the sense of Creator, but as one who has a love for the whole family of humanity. This doctrine is fundamental in our Church, and is the foundation of its belief in the final holiness of the race. It may be said that our author refers to distinctive doctrines; and that Universalists do not teach the Paternity of God more than the Methodists, or some others. This is not the position of Mr. Dorchester, whose ostensible object is to find points of doctrinal agreement running through the different periods of our denominational history. If other denominations have taught the love of God as much as ours, they have defined it so differently that the Universalist doctrine is rendered distinctive by its definition, if by nothing else. But have other Churches emphasized their conceptions of God's love as strongly as Universalists have theirs?

A prominent Methodist journal[3] recently defended the idea that God is *not* the Father of all; and we have met with the same idea in other Limitarian papers. Are there not, then, several "points of doctrinal agreement running through the various eras of our denominational history?

Since the "Unitarian transformation," which was substantially consummated as early as 1825, our denomination has remained almost unchanged respecting those doctrines which constitute the foundation of religious teaching; while its principal changes have been in respect to that bright array of heavenly hopes and assurances, regarding which even an apostle was obliged to confess that he saw "through a glass, darkly." When we contrast the history of Universalist theology with that of the Limitarian belief, we can see reasons to be satisfied with the doctrinal basis of our denomination. In a word, the modifications in the belief of our Church during the last forty years have been merely incidental, while the changes in the Partialist theology have respect to fundamental principles. The increasing wealth, influence and stability of our Church give promise of an auspicious future; but our greatest ground of assurance as a denomination, is this,—that the Universalist conceptions of God are higher than those that generally prevail.

We now proceed to notice the somewhat dramatic representations with which Mr. Dorchester closes his article. Under the heads, "Mr. Murray disowned by his children," and "The Father of Universalism disowned by his children," he attempts to show that there is no bond of doctrinal sympathy between modern Universalists and Mr. Murray. We quote the indictment as follows:

"As early as 1841, Mr. Ballou, referring to Murray and Winchester, said, 'The particular opinions about which these fathers of our Israel differed are now generally disbelieved by Universalists in the United States.' In the same year, and only twenty-six years after the death of Murray, it became a question which awakened considerable debate, whether an or-

[3] Northwestern Christian Advocate.

daining council ought to hesitate to ordain a preacher who held to Mr. Murray's type of Universalism. Mr. Whittemore says: 'Father Ballou supposed that it would not be prudent to ordain such, except over societies of similar views, or societies who understood the candidate to hold the peculiar opinions to which we have referred. There seems, however, to have been but little need of raising that question, as a Universalist of that kind could scarcely have been found at the time of which we write.' But, at the present time, the contrast is undoubtedly still more striking, and doctrines such as Murray and Winchester preached would not now be endured in Universalist congregations.

Rev. G. L. Demarest, in his introduction to the Centenary Edition of the Life of Murray, referring to his doctrinal views says, 'It is probable that no living man or woman now entertains them in their wholeness.' Mr. Murray's peculiar opinions were not of a character to secure a permanent hold on the public mind, or largely to affect a thinking people.' This is certainly a very frank, though humiliating, acknowledgement to make in the face of a centennial celebration in recognition of Mr. Murray's fatherhood of the denomination. But the acknowledgement is a patent one."

Then under the head, "The Father of Universalism Disowning his Children," our author says:

"Had Mr. Murray appeared among them at any time during the last thirty-five or forty years, he could hardly have recognized them as his children either in doctrine or spirit. Even Mr. Demarest, referring to the Unitarian tendencies which had begun to appear in Murray's lifetime, says: 'He was so earnest in his faith, and in each item of it, that he could not view with indifference the evident departure of the Church which he had organized from it. He especially viewed "Socinianism" with abhorrence, and professed *more sympathy* with Calvinistic partialism than with Unitarian Universalism.' But Mr. Murray shall speak in his own words. As we began with Mr. Murray, it is fitting that we close with him. The following extract is very pertinent. It is from a pamphlet published by him in Boston in 1791, entitled 'Hints relative to the forming of a Christian Church; and an answer to the question, What constitutes a Universalist?' Referring to those who advocate the salvation of men after a period of punishment after death, he says:

'They cannot, we conceive, with any degree of propriety, be called Universalists on apostolic principles; nor does it appear that they have any idea of being saved by or in the Lord with an everlasting, or with any salvation. It is difficult to find what they will have to thank God for at last, they having paid their own debt, and in their own persons satisfied Divine justice. Such Universalists have nothing to do with the ministry of reconciliation; the doctrine of the atonement, and the acceptance of the Beloved is out of their plan. Such Universalists as these are as far from the doctrines of the Gospel as their opponents, (the Partialists). These are Pharisaical Universalists, who are willing to justify themselves, and such Universalism as this will be more acceptable to an adulterous generation than the Universalism found in the ministry of reconciliation.'"

Though we may question the taste which chooses such titles to designate the relations between Father Murray and his spiritual successors, the arraignment seems weighty, until we remember that the true descendants of a reformer are builders, and not servile copyists. A man is a lineal descendant by the direct line of spiritual inheritance, when he catches the spirit of a reformer, even if he abandons some of his doctrines. It is true, however, that every reformer cherishes some central doctrine, which is so completely in harmony with the man's spirit that no one can fully accept the one without receiving the other. In this radical sense, though false when applied to the incidentals of a man's belief, we subscribe to the words of Emerson: "Do you love me? means, Do you see the same truth?" This helps us to see the true relation of our denomination with Father Murray. He was not a man of strongest reasoning powers and clearest judgment; but one of such eloquence and moral worth that he won the friendship of such men as Washington and Greene; and of such a loving nature that God's impartial grace was his dearest and ever abounding theme.

Universalists feel confident that they have the spirit of Murray, and know that they cherish that doctrine which was his especial pride and glory; and therefore they see nothing hu-

miliating in the fact that they differ from this excellent divine in some doctrinal points.

According to our author's implications, leadership is incompatible with progress, which would be sad indeed, for the world cannot do without leaders, but finds its only hope and welfare in progress. We should also remember that reformers are human, and are hemmed in by the limitations of nature as much as other men. How often does it happen that a man builds wiser than he knows! This might even be said of Martin Luther, and most of those who labored with him; for though they protested against the tyranny of Rome, they thought there was no salvation outside of their Churches. Zuinglius was a solitary exception, yet when he spoke of "the future assembly of all the saintly, the heroic, the faithful, and the virtuous, when Abel and Enoch, Noah and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, will mingle with Socrates, Aristides," and others, Luther said that he despaired of the salvation of Zuinglius! Ah, there was a deeper companionship between these two great men than the impulsive Luther dreamed of when he uttered these words about his fellow-laborer; and so the world has judged, for it groups them together in the great work of the Protestant Reformation.

So Murray, Winchester, and Ballou, are to be regarded as pioneers in a great movement which, as yet, has scarcely begun to show its importance in the drama of history; and though it may grieve us to think that they did not understand their relations to each other as fully as their spiritual descendants, their misunderstandings can alter nothing, for they were God's workers. It is pleasant, however, to recollect that Father Murray seemed to have a clearer view of his relation to the Universalist denomination during the last years of his life; and regretted that he had not more frequently attended the Conventions of that body.

The same remarks that we have made about Luther, Murray, and their followers, might also be applied to Wesley and the Methodists. We have all the materials with which to

make out a case. We commend the following extract to Mr. Dorchester's attention: [4]

"At a meeting of their preachers in 1744, he says, 'I exhorted them to keep to the church; observing that this was our peculiar glory—not to form any new sect, but abiding in our own church, to do to all men all the good we possibly could.' On another occasion a strong sectarian spirit having shown itself, Mr. Wesley persuaded his followers to resolve, without a dissenting voice, that 'it is by no means expedient that the Methodists should leave the Church of England.' So strongly did this feeling show itself, that the declaration was inserted in the first rules of their society; 'they that leave the church, leave us.' And this we did, says Mr. Wesley, 'not as a point of prudence, but a point of conscience.' In 1789, two years before his death, he said, 'I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice, will ever separate from it.' In a sermon preached about this time in Cork, 'he declared to the preachers in his connection, that they had no right to baptize and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.' Again:

Mr. Wesley, when he was eighty years of age, in a private chamber of a public house in Bristol, England, was induced to lay his hands upon the head of Rev. Dr. Coke, a Presbyter of the Church of England, appointing him as a *superintendent* over the missionary operations of the Methodists in America. On Dr. Coke's arrival in this country, he proceeded to lay his hands on the head of a Mr. Asbury, a layman, and thereby ordained him to the same office of superintendent. These two men soon began to call themselves Bishops. When Mr. Wesley heard of this, he immediately rebuked their arrogation of an office and title, which he never pretended to have conveyed. In a letter to Mr. Asbury he says, '*How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be elected a Bishop?* I shudder, I start at the very thought. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put an end to this.'"

These citations show that Methodism, in its present ecclesiastical form, is in opposition to the oft repeated desires of Wesley; and we are prepared to show that its doctrinal tenets are

[4] The statements respecting Mr. Wesley and the Episcopalians are from Rev. George H. Randall's sermon in Pitts Street Chapel Lectures.

nearly as much at variance with his teachings. H. C. Robinson, who heard Wesley preach in the autumn of 1790, thus describes[5] him.

"He stood in a wide pulpit, and on each side of him stood a minister, and the two held him up, having their hands under his arm-pits. His feeble voice was barely audible. But his reverend countenance, especially his long white locks, formed a picture never to be forgotten. There was a vast crowd of lovers and admirers. It was for the most part pantomime, but the pantomime went to the heart. Of the kind I never saw anything comparable with it in after life. His discourse was short—the text I could not hear. After the last prayer, he rose up and addressed the people on liberality of sentiment, and spoke much against refusing to join with any congregation on account of difference of opinion. He said, if if they do but fear God, work righteousness, and keep his commandments, we have nothing to object to."

We find a still further illustration of Mr. Wesley's liberality, when we consider that he was one of the admirers of Brooke's "Fool of Quality," a novel that teaches Universalism; and that he even found time to prepare an abridged edition for popular use.[6] The Centenary Book of the Methodist Church also gives—shall we say—"a very frank, though humiliating, testimony in the face of a centennial celebration" of Mr. Wesley's fatherhood of the denomination. It says:

"He makes no theological opinions requisite for membership in the Church, and recognizes no creed but the universal symbol of the early Church, the Apostle's creed, and this only in the administration of baptism. Of few things connected with Methodism does Wesley speak oftener or with more devout gratulation than of its catholicity. 'One circumstance,' he says, 'is quite peculiar to the people called Methodists; that is, the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees,—they think and let think. One condition, and one only, is required, a real desire to save their souls. Where this is, it is enough; they desire

[5] In Letters & Sketches. [6] Modern Hist. Universalism, p. 378.

no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, Is thy heart herein as my heart? If it be, give me thy hand.'"

There is nothing in this that we can object to, but everything to commend; as there is in Wesley's view of what constitutes salvation. He says:[7]

"*By salvation, I mean not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell, or going to heaven, but a present deliverance from sin.* Now, if by salvation we mean a present salvation from sin, we cannot say holiness is the condition of it; for it is the thing itself." He shows even greater liberality, if possible, when he treats of the great theme of human destiny. Few utterances of the Universalist pulpit have ever been more explicit than these words:

"Have we not farther ground for thankfulness, yea, and strong consolation, in the blessed hope which is given us, that the time is at hand, when righteousness shall be as universal as unrighteousness is now? Allowing that the whole creation now groaneth together, under the man of sin; our comfort is, *it will not always groan.* God will arise and maintain his own cause; and *the whole creation shall be delivered both from moral and natural corruption.* Sin and its consequence, pain, *shall be no more!* holiness and happiness will cover the earth. Then shall all the ends of the world see the salvation of our God. *And the whole race of mankind shall know, and love, and serve God, and reign with him forever and ever.*"[8]

We look in vain for a similar liberality of sentiment in the Methodist denomination of to-day; and only need reflect on the changes that have been made in Mr. Wesley's peculiar doctrines of "instantaneous conversion" and "personal perfection," to be assured that "it is probable that no living man or woman now entertains" his ideas "in their wholeness." The truth is that a careful survey will show that all the great denominations of our day have dropped or changed some of

[7] Cited in Thayer's Theology of Universalism, p. 197.

[8] Wesley's Sermons Vol. 5, p. 156 The curious reader will find many other similar quotations from Mr. Wesley's sermons, in The Book of Promises, by S. B. Emmons, issued by the Universalist Publishing House.

the doctrines of their founders, though it will also show that something remains untouched by the hand of time. Nor does such a view necessarily diminish our esteem for these religious leaders; for while the world readily outgrows that which is incidental in the character of great men, it is a long time before it can fully comprehend their deepest thoughts and highest inspirations. Thus Wesley and Murray are leaders to-day, though the garb of their thought is rude and antiquated, and some of their ideas chimerical. Gold does not change its nature, though blended with the rock; and great men, though subject to many limitations and misconceptions, nevertheless have that within them which, when it gets expression in words and deeds, adds to the wealth, and enriches the life, of the world.

ARTICLE XIX.

Africa: Physical, Historical and Ethnological.— Christian Missions.

PART V.

"THE night is far spent, the day is at hand." As in the alternations of day and night, so in the mutations of the world's great history, important events are sometimes ushered in, or at least foreshadowed by something like the twilight gleams of approaching morn. The restless spirit of adventure which animated the Portuguese mind, influenced and modified, as it was by an insatiate love of gold, bore the first rays of Christian light into the dark region of Western and Southern Africa. The discovery of the country and of the people, so new and so wonderful, was but the harbinger and the instrument of an approaching change. Back in the primal ages of Christian faith and Christian effort, it must have been amazing and incomprehensible to the Pagan mind, swayed as it was by the brilliant idolatries of the world, that the simple story of Christ

and his religion should awaken such deep interest and take such strong hold of the affections of men, retaining its influence through all the changes of life, and evincing by its unexampled progress an intrinsic force expressed in graphic phrase —"My kingdom is not in word, but in power!" Not less amazing in the wilds of Africa, though perhaps less actively progressive, was the announcement of that same story, borne by devoted heralds, over sea and over land, to reach with radiance minds besotted and souls long pressed by demoniac influence and fetish superstition. The intrinsic capacity for self-advancement, which gave the early Church its glory and its greatness, was not lost upon the untutored minds of the African race. Though clouded with errors ingrafted upon it, and stained with crimes committed in its name, it has still moved on in its quiet achievements through toil and temptation, attracting, subduing, converting, restoring, and giving evidence of a success as remarkable as it is unexampled in the world's great history!

The Catholic missions already mentioned in Western Africa, whether useful or ingenious in their day of prosperity, have now nearly passed away. The feeble traces left remaining, borne from the dingy past and still displayed on the tributaries of the Congo and Coanza stand there like "Rachel weeping for her children because they are not," and point sadly and tenderly to a past civilization and intellectual culture, the glory, if not the reward, of those earnest men engaged in the work.

While the Catholics were conducting their missions for the Church and civilization among the African tribes, the great Protestant sects having possessions on the coast remained inactive. The English, Danes and Dutch had established posts at several points for the purpose of trade, and held an intimate commercial intercourse with the native people for more than two hundred years without an effort—to their eternal shame —or scarcely a thought directed to the enlightenment and evangelization of these ignorant and godless barbarians. But the day at length came. The Protestant elements of Europe

began to be aroused to the importance of carrying the gospel over the whole heathen world.

The honor of taking the first step in the grand series of Protestant missions in Western Africa belongs to the humble, zealous and persecuted Moravians. The followers of John Huss, the few who dared be known seldom permitted to remain long in the quiet enjoyment of their religious views, had found an asylum on the ample estates of the Count Zinzendorf in Saxony. But from some malicious accusations that nobleman was forced to quit the kingdom with the whole Christian band whom his influence had protected. On receiving the order to depart, he made a remark which seemed prophetic of the future missionary ardor of the Moravian Church. "Now," said he, "we must form a congregation of pilgrims and train them to go into all the world and preach Christ and his salvation." It was a noble speech, whether prophetic or profane, and his own ample fortune was employed for its fulfilment. While at Copenhagen, 1731, to attend the coronation of Christian VI., king of Denmark, he made the acquaintance of a colored man named Anthony, from St. Thomas, from whom he received a sorrowful story of suffering and pious desire for Christian illumination. His sympathies were strongly enlisted and on his return home he inspired his brethren with his own ardent zeal to carry the gospel to the poor, weeping, crying, beseeching heathen in Africa. Accordingly, with a community scarcely numbering six hundred souls, he began his pious work. Devout men, taking their lives in their hands, went forth meekly and bravely to the arduous and uncertain labor.

Christian Protten and Henry Hukuf, the former a mulatto who had received an education and studied divinity at Copenhagen, reached the shores of Guinea in 1736, and commenced their work at a place called Christiansborg on the Gold Coast. The same year, sustained by the munificence of the Count Zinzendorf, another mission was opened at Bavian's Kloof, near the Cape of Good Hope, in a romantic valley which, from its beautiful scenery and religious associations, was afterwards named Genadendal, or *Vale of Grace.* The mission at Chris-

tianborg run a feeble course for a few years, and was at length abandoned. Hukeef died soon after his arrival; his companion prosecuted the work as best he could, but soon returned home. Other attempts were afterwards made by Protten and others, but every man sent to that fatal field perished in the work, and left his bones to bleach upon the soil — a very sorrowful tribute to the insalubrity of the climate! The mission to the Hottentots proved equally, if not even more, disastrous. Under the charge of George Schmidt, "a man of remarkable zeal and undaunted courage," a small congregation was gathered at Genadendal, which blossomed for a while in beauty and fragrance even in defiance of the frowns and interference of the colonial government. The indefatigable missionary, finding the dialect of the Hottentots difficult to acquire and barren of terms to communicate religious thought, opened a school for instructing the natives in the Dutch language. But for the redress of grievances and procuring assistance, he deemed it advisable in 1744 to return to Europe. On reaching home, however, and presenting his complaints, he not only failed of redress but was even refused permission to return to the scene of his labors. Thus the work was suspended, and years passed—a full jubilee before it was again commenced.

In 1701 a "Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts" had been chartered by William III. of England. Under its auspices in 1751 a clergyman of the English Church was sent to the Gold Coast, with a view of ascertaining the feasibility of establishing a mission in that country. After a residence of four years, officiating as chaplain to the British troops in Cape Coast Castle, and laboring to convert the sable heathen, he became discouraged, and his health failing, he returned to England. Before his return, he had sent home three native boys to be educated in that country. One of these, named Quaque, passed a regular course at Oxford, and receiving ordination returned to exercise the clerical functions in his native land. But aside from his pay and his duties as chaplain at the Castle for fifty years, his labors seem to have been barren of any useful results. He not only failed of converting

his countrymen, but himself even, on his death bed, is said to have shown as much confidence in his early *greegrees* as in the peerless force of Christian truth! "The case of this individual," says a late writer, "furnishes matter for grave consideration on the part of those who are anxious to promote the enlightenment and salvation of Africa." It is not at all surprising that such backsliding should occur. Possibly the very errors inculcated in the Christian name may have awakened disgust and driven the poor man back to the verge, if not into the embrace of his old Fetish superstitions. Even strong men, standing amongst their own kindred with a new religion, have much to do and much to suffer in maintaining their integrity. Fortunately the Africans are not all failures. Many, very many examples of native fidelity stand out brilliant and beautiful in the long line of Christian missions in Africa.

After the failure of these efforts, the work of evangelizing the blacks seems to have been suspended; or at least its movement was feeble, tardy and ineffective. Not long, however, was it permitted to remain in this condition, with the pall of lethargy thrown over it. Very soon its sun shone out again in beams of grace still more attractive on the clouded people of that unhappy land. Protestant sects began to awake and societies to be formed, catholic in their spirit and ample in their scope, for the propagation of the gospel in foreign lands. Christ and civilization seemed walking hand in hand, bearing the cross with its life and light to the remotest abodes of barbarous man.

Already had the British government several trading posts on the coast of Guinea. Sierra Leone had scarcely risen to higher honor. But in 1787 a settlement was effected, with the avowed object of the improvement and civilization of the native tribes. Philanthropy then ran high in their behalf. But its course was slow and quite uncertain. By the failure of a private adventure for the settlement of Bulam, one of the Birrago islands, the colony at Sierra Leone received a small accession of forces. Another was received from the importa-

tion of four hundred refugee slaves, who had joined the British in the American war. In 1791, a company was formed—the "Sierra Leone Company"—and received its charter in the interests of philanthropy, with power to take charge of the colony, bring order out of chaos, establish good government, and promote education, arts, agriculture and commerce. But in the first stages of its work, it was burdened with another importation of refugee slaves, and shortly after, the place was burned by a French squadron. Still, under all these discouragements the company pursued its work with unabated ardor. On the abolition of the slave trade, Sierra Leone was made a rendezvous for the landing of negroes captured from slave ships by the British cruisers. A mixed population was thus brought together, which after a while began to show signs of insubordination. From this and other causes, the company deemed it prudent, in 1808, to dissolve; all its property, powers, rights and privileges were, therefore, transferred to the British government.

Prior to that transfer, important events in the progress of Christian missions had occurred. The Wesleyan Methodists, Connexion of Lady Huntingdon, and other pious people of that particular cast of thought, had turned their attention with glowing zeal to the dusky residents of Africa. In 1795, a number of gentlemen of different religious sects formed a plan for the civilization of the Foulahs—a mixed race of Moor and African in the double sense of physical structure and religious impressions. Dr. Thomas Coke, "the father of Wesleyan missions," was connected with this enterprise. The plan, however, "came to naught," because, as has been alleged, it made the attempt to *civilize* without *evangelizing* the savage tribes. However this may be, it is certain that the failure resulted more from the agents employed for its execution than from any other cause. And it is also certain, especially to those who have carefully studied the question, that the success of all missions among the Africans has depended as much on labor for their civilization, as on the inculcation of abstract doctrines, often unintelligible, inconsistent, and perhaps mon-

strous in their character. No class of Christians now expect success in their missions in Africa, unless, along with Christian labors, they apply themselves to the inculcation of the arts, agriculture and all other facts and appliances of civilization. The early Christian missionaries met with discouragements far beyond any experienced in later efforts. The meek Moravians were unsuccessful in their first attempts, but with them it was a malarious climate, poverty and paucity of numbers, rather than any fundamental error in the prosecution of their work, which wrought the failure. When one phalanx was cut down, they had no other, like the larger Christian sects, to enter the breach and continue the assault. They fought against fate, yet nobly have they achieved a name and an honor not to be taken from them.

After lamenting the failure of Dr. Coke's attempt, the Wesleyan Committee undertook a mission, "*on the proper missionary plan.*" Earnest, faithful and self-sacrificing men, designated for the work, erected their standard in 1796, at Sierra Leone, in the midst of a population unique in its character, and diverse in its origin. Here were brought together in one community, puritans, profligates and philanthropists from all civilized nations of Europe, and here, too, were negroes of every name and grade, collected from numerous tribes along the coast, each speaking a different dialect, and bringing in the worst elements of heathen superstition to blend with "the most degrading vices of civilization!" It was to this mass of human abominations, that the Wesleyan missionaries were obliged to address their labors. It would not have been surprising, if they had been compelled to write the same inscription that marked the tablet of the preceding effort—"come to naught!" But times had changed as well as men and opportunities. The mission at length outrode the storm, and became the first permanent Protestant mission in Western Africa.

It was not, however, blessed with a prompt and preeminently successful course. A year from its commencement, there was reported indirectly, a church with four hundred communicants, two hundred and twenty-three of whom were blacks and

mulattoes. Thereafter, for the space of fourteen years, a vail was drawn over its deeds, allowing but free and faint glimpses of its prosperity or decline. Dr. Coke still exercised a parental supervision over it, and a missionary, sent under his direction in 1811, reported—"The society at our arrival amounted to one hundted and ten." Whence this great decline? Sierra Leone had then a population of four thousand souls—a few Europeans, but the great mass were Nova Scotians, Maroons, Tinnehs, Kroomans and recaptured slaves. It is not surprising that some should relapse. The work, however, was not suffered to cease entirely. The mission soon began to improve and in a few years had thrust its feelers out into the surrounding country and opened a way for the establishment of new posts at various points. The river Gambia had been inspected, and a mission commenced in 1821 on the island of St. Mary near its mouth, and within the reach of the Jalofs, Foulahs and Mandingoes.

For several years the mission at Sierra Leone stood alone. The English Baptists made an attempt to open a mission there in 1795, but it proved a signal if not an ignominious failure. A new society, organized in England in 1800, called the "Church Missionary Society" had just commenced its operations. In 1804, two of its missionaries were sent to the Suzoo country, but after a few months one of them left the service, and the other remained as chaplain at Sierra Leone. Two years later, the mission was revived and extended among the Tinnehs, Rulloms and other neighboring tribes. In the sharp and ceaseless quest for slave-ships, hundreds of children were rescued and landed, naked and destitute, at Sierra Leone. For the protection, support and education of these, the Church society in 1813, erected within the colony a building called the "Christian Institution," which was afterwards changed into a sort of college for the preparation of native youths to work as missionaries or assistants among their own kindred. The presence of this Institution, the opening of new missions in the colony, and the representatives of so many native tribes collected there, not only made the place a nursery for mission-

aries, but gave it a high reputation as a central point of missionary efforts in all that region.

For a long time American thought, or at least the minds of ardent and devoted philanthropists, had been directed to the toiling slaves of their own land, and the prospect of deliverance. This active and vigorous thought bore out, at length, the facts, and developed the history of colonization. Not, however, until 1820 was any special work of that history actually commenced — not until that time was any considerable number of colored colonists ready to embark on a voyage of return, for the purpose of ending their great life-work in their fatherland. The first colonists reached the coast and made an unsuccessful attempt to settle on Sherbro island. Failing a second time, they found at last a resting-place, a home, and a country at Cape Messurado. Here they built Monrovia. Out of this has sprung the long, low, narrow, littoral kingdom or commonwealth of Liberia.

It was not, however, a labor to pass along, or an enterprise to be developed and wrought into history without a missionary. The American societies seem to have assumed the exclusive right to operate in this republican colony. It was an enterprise all their own. The British government had refused ingress to American slaves for colonization at Sierra Leone. Nothing remained for the friends of these freedmen, but to commence anew, achieve a name, and found a kingdom or a government of republican freedom in the great African peninsula. The first missionary sent on that incipient work was Lott Carey, once a slave, who had purchased his freedom and became a preacher. Then came Collin Teage and John Revey, both colored preachers, who took up the cross, defying pestilence, famine and violence in the land of their fathers. These faithful disciples, under the patronage of the Baptist Missionary Association reached their destination in 1822 — took up their residence and commenced their work at Monrovia. Time flew swiftly on and bore as swiftly colonists and missionaries to that malarious Eden! A call from the governor of the colony, in 1827, brought to their shores a company of Swiss mis-

sionaries from the seminary at Basle, who commenced their labor with zeal and hope. But, as in so many other cases, after a few month's residence in the country, they were called to pay the accustomed tribute of human flesh to its remorseless king — malarious fever! Sadly they buried their dead, some returned home, others became discouraged and the mission was abandoned. Since that time, several American Societies have entered the field, toiling successfully in diffusing truth, awakening love, and inspiring hope; and the colony has prospered, as far and as fast, as the character of the people and their advancement in civilization would permit. The influence of the Basle Missionary Society, however, was not taken entirely away. The ancient Christiansborg was remembered and four of its agents reached that place in 1828. Though death came as before to interrupt their work, they still persevered, opening a new station at Akropong, and in other respects continuing prosperous.

About the year 1836, an American Association was formed, very pure and very free from the taint of receiving aid from slave-holders, which in a country southeast of Sierra Leone somewhat neglected, opened a mission among the native tribes, called the "Mendi Mission." It was this, which in 1841, was rendered famous by receiving the crew of mutinous slaves, taken from the Spanish schooner Amistad, and adjudged free by a decree of the U. S. Court.

Stretching along the coast of Guinea from the mouths of the Niger westward to cape Apollonia, a distance of nearly a thousand miles, lies a great tract of country, extending northward from two hundred to three hundred miles to the summit-ridges of the Kong mountains. This vast region is divided into three great kingdoms—Yoruba, Dahomey, and Ashantee. They are alike in the character of their population and in their civil and secular affairs, being composed of separate states or kingdoms, united under one despotic head. Formerly Dahomey was the most prominent, but in later years the other two have grown to more distinction. Yoruba has indeed been shattered by internal feuds, and for many years has existed as

a mere congenis of conflicting elements, having no common head. Ashantee is now the most powerful, numbering as estimated four million souls, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The people are a fine race, vigorous, warlike, ingenious, but sunk in the most sottish superstition, "reckless to a frightful degree of human life," and in some of their customs unparallelled in cold, bloody, remorseless brutality! They are said to be of Nigritian origin, driven by relentless Mohammedans from the vales of the Niger across the Kong mountains, which they found a sufficient barrier to the further incursions of these marauding bigots, now called Fellatahs. Early in the present century a war commenced between the Fantees, a tribe bordering on the Gold Coast, and the Ashantees, in which the English became involved. The war continued for several years with varied success; at length the British forces suffered a severe defeat. It is not, however, the policy of that government to allow barbarians a final triumph over their arms. Two years later, another battle was fought in which the king of Ashantee was utterly routed and obliged to deposit four thousand ounces of gold at Cape Coast to be used for the defence of the place.

This decisive battle doubtless assisted in opening the way for the introduction of Christianity into that extensive region. Yet advantage seems not to have been taken of it for many years thereafter. It was not until 1839 that Thomas B. Freeman, a colored preacher, under the ægis of the Wesleyan Conference made his way to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, and obtained permission to announce his message. The same committee had before established missions along the Guinea shore at different points—Cape Coast Town, Annamaboe, Akrah and other places. Unwearied laborers had also entered the kingdom of Yoruba, but Yoruba rent and distracted by contending factions was far from favorable to missionary work. Mr. Freeman, however, found means to visit the powerful chief of Abbeokuta and was permitted to preach the gospel and establish schools in that city. He was soon followed by the emissaries of the Church Missionary Society, among whom was

Samuel Crowther, a native African, taken from a slave ship and educated for the work. A permanent mission was soon established. The Yoruban language had already been wrought into the type and texture of a distinctive literature and Mr. Crowther was able to speak to the numerous tribes, with so much intelligence and versatility that each could hear in his own particular dialect. From the commencement of the general revolt in 1818, Yoruba had been rent, ravaged, and depopulated to an extent scarcely parallelled in the history of nations. Hundreds of slaves stolen from that unhappy land, and rescued by British ships of war, had been landed at Sierra Leone. On opening the mission at Abbrokuta, a successful effort was made for the return of these freedmen to sing the impromptu songs of their native land.

There was a work also on the east of the Niger, Fernando Po!—it is a remarkable island, one hundred and twenty miles in length, with a huge volcanic mountain lifting up its hoary head, like the hump on a camel's back, to the height of ten thousand, seven hundred feet. Lying in the range of the Cameroons and not far distant, the same fracture of the earth's crust through which was spewed the elements of that mountain, doubtless, also gave vent to the immense mass which formed Fernando Po. The island belongs to Spain. The English Baptists, after a silence of forty years from the failure of their attempt at Sierra Leone, established in 1841 a mission on the island. But its course was very brief. The missionaries in 1846 were ordered to desist from their labors, and two Catholic priests were brought to take their place. Yet the work was not entirely thrown away; some good had been accomplished, and soon after, an opening for future action was presented at Old Calabar, near the Cameroons, to which the missionaries repaired.

The American Board for Foreign Missions, long absorbed in the greater work in Ceylon and Hindoostan, had its attention turned in 1834 to the African coast. Its first attempt, made at Cape Palmas was neither brilliant nor successful. The mission continued but a short time, and was then trans-

ferred to the Gaboon, a river and a country bordering on the gulf of Guinea near the equator. This name and locality soon became deeply interesting as the western terminus of a cordon of missionary posts which Dr. Krapf, of the Church missions in eastern Africa, proposed to extend across the continent to the coast of Zanguebar.

What an immense field for the labor of faithful missionaries is presented among the tribes, states and principalities of western Africa! The work has already taxed largely the energy, patience and resources of the civilized world. Yet the results, though very hopeful, are comparatively very limited, and present indications that, hereafter as heretofore, its movement must be very slow. Months, years and ages will doubtless pass away, and generation follow generation to the bosom of the earth, before that people will become thoroughly changed in their habits, thoughts, tastes, and religious impressions into accord with the customs, philosophy and religion of the more enlightened nations of the earth.

ARTICLE XX.

Bayle and Le Clerc; or, The Manichean and the Universalist.

WE were lately reading an old French book, bearing the title *Parrhasiana on Pensées Diverses*, etc., written, as is now well-known by Jean Le Clerc, though it appears under the fictitious name of *Theodore Parhasee*. The work was published at Amsterdam, two volumes, 12 mo., in 1699. Among other interesting matters, we were particularly impressed by an article in which Le Clerc examines and refutes some arguments of Pierre Bayle against the Christian religion. In his well-known Historical and Critical Dictionary, Bayle had taken several occasions to bring forward the doctrine of the Manicheans and Paulicians—who believed in the existence of two Gods, equally eternal and omnipresent, the one infinitely good,

the other wholly evil — and to represent this doctrine as of such a nature as to present the gravest difficulties to the Christian theologian. We hardly need say that this Dualism, as the doctrine of two Gods is called, is much older than Manes, from whom the Manicheans derive their name. It was the doctrine of Zoroaster and of many of the ancient philosophers, and reappears occasionally in modern times. The acknowledged learning and ability of Bayle gave importance to these allegations, and called out several of the best writers in Europe, as Jaquelot, Leibnitz and Le Clerc, for their refutation. The following, which we venture to translate from the first volume of the work mentioned above, needs no further explanation; though we may be permitted to remark that it is no small compliment to Universalism that one of the first scholars of his age should have adopted its fundamental principles as furnishing the best, if not the only, defensible ground on which the origin of evil could be explained, and from which attacks against the Christian religion could be met and repelled.

"Mr. Bayle has, in many passages of his Dictionary, exhibited the objections of the Manicheans against the unity of a beneficent God, and friend of virtue; and has even availed himself of their reasonings to attack the different systems of Christians. He thinks that in reasoning against us, they are much stronger than we, and that the best way for all Christian sects is to content themselves with what the Scriptures say, without troubling themselves whether what they teach is accordant with the light of reason or not. I am not of his opinion and if I had leisure, I would undertake to show at length that he is mistaken when he gives the Manicheans so much advantage over all Christians, whoever they may be. I shall here only employ the principles which one might use for reclaiming such people from their error concerning the evil God, whom they join to the good one! But it is necessary for me to make, in the outset, two observations.

The first is, that in replying to the Manichean objections, I do no injustice to Mr. Bayle, who, I suppose, in no manner

favors them. I am convinced that he has only taken the philosophic liberty of expressing, without dissimulation, the *pros* and *cons* in many controversies, only for the purpose of giving exercise to those who understand the subjects of which he treats, and not at all to countenance the opinions of those whose reasonings he presents. We ought to take the difficulties he proposes as objections which he is permitted to make in an auditory of theologians and philosophers, where the more one presses a difficulty, the greater the honor he does to those who can solve it. This is a piece of justice one has a right to demand of his readers and which can not be refused him. For myself, I willingly accord it to him, but think I may ask in turn that he will allow me to reply to his objections without making any odious application to the person of the replies, which have regard only to the difficulties themselves.

The second remark I have to make, is that as Mr. Bayle thought he had the right to put into the hand of the Manicheans such arms as he pleased, he must permit me to parry his blows in such a manner as I find most convenient. He thinks it a very humiliating thing to human reason that it cannot defend Providence against one of the most ridiculous sects that has ever existed, and I believe that one of the sects the least followed can entirely refute everything he has made the Manicheans say. As he did not engage to defend the system of the heretics, nor even pretend to approve the reasons which he takes from them, so I ought to have the liberty of using *Origen*, in the same way, in whose name so to speak, I shall undertake to answer the Manicheans. I declare that I am disposed neither to approve nor defend all that he has said, nor all that I am about to make one of his disciples say. I have no interest in his reputation nor in his doctrines, and I hinder no one from thinking what he will. I am not acting here to satisfy people on this point, but only to close the mouth of the Manicheans by letting an Origenist speak. If a man of this sort can put a Manichean to silence, what should not those who reason infinitely better than the disciples of Origen, not be able to do? But this I leave to the judgment of philosophers

and theologians. See, then, what an Origenist would say, after having read all the objections of the Manicheans.

"The Manicheans pretend to show that it is necessary to recognize an Evil Principle, that is to say, one that is malevolent and an enemy of righteousness who governs the world on account of two things which are observed here. One is the *physical* evil to which men are subject, such as diseases, pains and all the inconveniences of life, in whatever way they may befall us; the other is *moral* evil, that is sin, and all that depends upon it. The Manicheans industriously display all the evils, both physical and moral, which exist among men, and then say, If the Principle who governs the world is the cause of these evils, he can be neither benevolent nor the friend of righteousness: and if foreseeing, and being able to prevent, then he must be indifferent alike to our misfortunes and our good actions. They add that it is obvious that beneficence is not a quality of this Principle, since he has decreed to damn to endless punishment the greater part of mankind, or at least does not hinder them at all from precipitating themselves into such punishment, although he is not ignorant of it and could easily prevent it.

We cannot deny, continued our Origenist, what the Manicheans say of physical and moral evil among men, and can no more doubt that if he who governs men does it in such a way that they must fall into sin, he must be an enemy of righteousness in general and of justice in particular, were he to punish them for faults which he himself had caused them to commit. But it is not true that men fall necessarily into the sins which God punishes. Necessity is incompatible with a sin we call punishable, as well as with an action that can deserve reward. One must have done the good or evil act freely, that is, he must have been able not to do it, in order either to be rewarded or punished. This is a maxim recognizeed by all the legislators of the world and which nobody can reasonably dispute. God, then, only permits us to violate his laws, after having done everything necessary for our observing them.

If he does not prevent such violation, although he foresees

it and is able to keep us in the path of duty, it is because he has made us free beings, in order to give place to virtue and vice, praise and blame, rewards and punishments. Of this every one may be convinced by his own experience, or his consciousness of power to do or not to do actions, good or bad, which deserve to be praised or blamed. This is assumed by all legislators and magistrates as an indubitable principle, since they punish or reward men, according as they observe or violate the laws.

This being so, I acknowledge, adds the Origenist, that one inconvenience follows from it, which is that men can abuse the power they have of obeying or disobeying the divine laws; and God could not have been ignorant of this, even though he had not foreseen it, since all men, who arrive at the age of reason, do disobey. It is on this account that he does not arrest the course of physical evils, which, in so many different ways, ravage the whole earth. Sinners do not deserve that he should intervene in a supernatural way to deliver them from these evils, and they cannot complain of it.

But why, say the Manicheans, has God created men, (according to other Christians) subject to fall into sin, since he was not ignorant of the evil that would happen? To this I reply that men can not complain of God, in this respect, for two reasons. The first is, that he does not require them to be impeccable, since this would be unjust, as being above their nature. The second is, that God damns no one simply for having sinned, but for not having repented. If he has made them weak, he requires of them only what their weakness will allow.

Besides, it is not necessary for God to prevent or arrest physical or moral evils, which are the effects or punishment of the sins of men, in order for him to be considered a benevolent being and a friend of virtue. To be convinced of this let us examine them, one after the other. But we must raise ourselves here above the vulgar ideas of the duration and magnitude of the evils which occur either during the whole life time of an individual, or during the whole time it may please God to let

the earth which we inhabit remain as it is. To give an account, as much as is possible for us, of the conduct of an infinite God, it is necessary for us to forget that we are finite, and put ourselves, if we are permitted so to speak, in the place of him who has no limitations. Otherwise we shall not be able to defend his cause, nor render a good reason for what he does. God does not act according to the limited and feeble ideas which are the rules of human conduct; and it is this which led him to say by the prophet, that his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts.

The physical evils which we suffer in our own persons seem to us of an interminable length, if they last through our whole life, or only a few years. We complain and cry out in our impatience, that God delays too long to succor us, and especially if these evils are very painful. What if we were to add together all the evils which have ever happened or ever shall happen to the whole human race, as long as the earth exists! Our feeble imagination would be frightened and overwhelmed by it, and it would seem to us that he who rules over us has scarcely any care for us, and that he is anything but beneficent. But if the Almighty should elevate our minds in an instant to perfection, and enable us to consider clearly the duration of this earth, such as it is compared with eternity, and help us to see the moment when it began and that when it ends, this length of time, which frightens us, would disappear from our vision, and we should say that the proportion between it and eternity, is infinitely less than it is between a single minute and a hundred million years. Then the evils which extort such bitter complaints from us, and which appear so frightful, would, on account of this short duration, not affect us at all. Among men, those who are treating a child for disease, and heal it by a bitter remedy, only smile at its complaints of its bitterness, because they know that in a very short time it will perceive it no more, and that it will do it good. There is infinitely greater disproportion between God and the most enlightened men than there is between them and the simplest child. Thus we cannot be reasonably astonished that God regards the evils we suffer as almost nothing. He who has a

complete idea of eternity and who regards the beginning and end of our sufferings as infinitely nearer each other than the beginning and end of a minute.

We must reason in the same way about sins and vicious actions, which in regard to God do not last long, and which at bottom change nothing in the universe. If a clockmaker should make a pendulum which, being once hung, should go well through a whole year except two or three seconds of irregular movement at the beginning, would any one say that this mechanic could not pique himself on his skill nor the exactitude of his work? In the same way, if God some day redresses for all eternity the disorders which this misuse of liberty has occasioned among men, can we be surprised that he has not caused them to cease during the moment we have been upon this earth?

But I see very well, our Origenist goes on to say, that the Manicheans will object to the eternal punishments which God has threatened the wicked, that is, the greater part of mankind, in the Scriptures. I do not deny that Jesus Christ has threatened the wicked with eternal fire, and I am not about to intrude myself behind an ambiguity of the words; but who told the Manicheans that the Supreme Legislator of the universe has not the right to remit the punishments which he has threatened the wicked, when he shall find it proper? When a sovereign sentences one to a prison for life, it is always so expressed in an absolute manner; but he does not tie his hands so that he can never relax towards those whom he has condemned.

When God promises anything to his creatures, his sovereign goodness and his faithfulness engage him to perform inviolably his promises; and notwithstanding the infinite distance between him and us, we should complain of having been deceived if he did not keep them. But when, after having threatened free creatures in order to keep them in fear, and having begun to punish them, without affording them any hope of seeing an end of their sufferings, he judges that they have suffered enough, and shall afterwards render them eternally happy, who is there that can complain of him? Is there anything in

this that is unworthy of the divine goodness; and is not this idea wholly consonant with a compassion that is without end, and which consequently should not terminate in respect to the great majority of mankind, with the temporary duration of their life here, in order to give place to an endless eternity?

It is not necessary to allow this Origenist to speak farther. What he has said is sufficient to close the mouth of the Manicheans, and it is not my design to make his sentiment plausible by exhibiting it more at length and fortifying it by proofs, by which Origen would apparently have supported his opinion touching the end of the torments of the damned. I have had no other purpose than to show that Mr. Bayle's Manicheans have no cause of triumphing over human reason, if they meet people who know how to defend themselves only as well as Origen, whose opinion nevertheless is rejected by all the world. In the main there is no comparison between the opinions of Origen, such as I have represented, and such as they were in fact, and Manicheism, or the opinion of two Principles. This last is wholly incompatible with the Christian religion, of which an essential article is the recognition of one sole Creator of men; whereas that of Origen may be present with the belief of all the essential articles of this religion. This great man as to that, was never treated as a heretic during his life; and it would have been very hard to declare him damned after his death, on account of this single opinion. Besides as we only attempt to refute the Manicheans by reason much more than by revelation of which they reject far the greater part, it must be allowed that the method of Origen, not wounding reason at all, may be employed in such a conjunction as this. If any one is found at the present time who can be cured only by this means, as might happen, one would not do ill by reasoning thus against him since it is beyond doubt better to be an Origenist than a Deist, an Atheist, or a Manichean. As to myself, I have wished to write this small essay only to retort a little upon the Manicheans and to excite the theologians to take up this subject, which requires a whole volume to examine it in detail.

GENERAL REVIEW.

Max Muller's Science of Religion.[1]

THE phrase "science of religion" has an unpleasant sound for most ears, and seems an endorsement of the assumption that all religions are the outgrowth of human thought, discovery and culture, Christianity among the rest; and therefore that all direct divine revelations are unnecessary, and all sacred books without authority, and their value to be tested in all cases by impartial historical and ethical criticism.

Max Muller always writes in a catholic and reverent spirit, and the large toleration which he shows toward all forms of belief arises not from indifference, but from love of man, and devout faith in God. Believing in God, and in his creation and providential government of heaven and earth, he cannot, as he says, believe that millions of human beings created in the likeness of God were from the beginning so utterly abandoned of him that their whole religion was falsehood, their whole worship a farce, and their whole life a mockery. An honest study of the religions of the world, he thinks, will show us that it was not so; will teach us the same lesson that it taught Augustine, that there is no religion which does not contain some grains of truth; and help us to see finally that all religions were schools for the divine education of the race.[2]

Of course we are to distinguish between the earlier forms of faith and teaching, which are always marked by simplicity and purity, and the later additions, perversions, contradictions and corruptions. The truths to be found in these primeval beliefs cannot be explained on the theory of a primeval, preternatural revelation granted to the

[1] Lectures on the Science of Religion; with a Paper on Buddhist Nihilism and a Translation of Dhammapada or "Path of Virtue" By Max Muller. Charles Scribner & Co. $2.50.

[2] Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria entertained the same view regarding the Greek Philosophy. Clement especially elaborates this point, making Philosophy for the Greeks what the law was for the Jews, a divinely appointed preparation for the Gospel. The philosophers were elected of God from the mass of common men, and he bestowed his spirit upon them in such degree as they were able to receive it that they might be as prophets to their own people. "The divine Logos, which is everywhere poured out, like the light of the sun, enlightened the souls of men from the beginning." *Ueberweg's Hist. of Phil.* 1: 314; *Neanders Hist. of Ch. Rel.* 1: 536. *et seq.*

fathers of the race, these grains of pagan wisdom being the scattered fragments of that sacred heirloom. Nor are we to assume that paganism, in any of its forms, is a corruption of the religion of the Old Testament. Our author is convinced that the more we know of the religions of the world, the "ethnic religions," as Dr. Clarke phrases it, the more we shall see that in one sense every one of them is a true religion, being the only religion which was possible at the time, which was compatible with the language, thoughts and sentiments of each generation. It will be asked, if the worship of the Jewish Moloch, or the Babylonian Mylitta, or the Hindoo Kali, is a true religion? In reply, he asks, Can that be a true religion which put to death holy men for not believing that Christ was God? Which screened nameless crimes behind the walls of monasteries? Which taught the eternity of punishment without pardon or salvation for sinners, however penitent? These are the excresences of religion, its later corruptions. If we would judge a religion fairly, we must study it as much as possible in the mind of its founder.

Man is endowed with a religious nature, and the moment he begins to face the realities of life, its development commences; he begins to ask and to try to answer manifold questions, and the spirit within him begins to strnggle upward towards the Maker, the Father. This is the beginning of religion and of religious culture. History has no record of a race with whom the simple feeling of reverence for higher powers was not hidden under mythological disguises. Without the innate religious faculty, no religion, not even the lowest and rudest worship of idols and fetiches, would be possible; and if we will listen attentively we shall hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to utter the unutterable, a longing after the infinite, a feeling after God. But we will let the writer describe this effort of the religious faculty to express its longing after the Divine, in his own words:

"There was in the heart of man, from the very first, a feeling of incompleteness, of weakness, of dependence, whatever we like to call it in our abstract language. We can explain it as little as we can explain why the new-born child feels the cravings of hunger and thirst. But it was so from the first and is so even now. Man knows not whence he comes and whither he goes. He looks for a guide, for a friend; he wearies for some one on whom he can rest; he wants something like a father in heaven. In addition to all the impressions which he received from the outer world, there was in the heart of man a stronger impulse from within — a sigh, a yearning, a call for

something that should not come and go like everything else, that should be before, and after, and forever, that should hold and support everything, that should make man feel at home in this strange world. Before this vague yearning could assume any definite shape it wanted a name; it could not be fully grasped or clearly conceived except by naming it. But where to look for a name? No doubt the storehouse of language was there, but from every name that was tried the mind of man shrank back because it did not fit, because it seemed to fetter rather than to wing the thought that fluttered within and called for light and freedom."

Now it is at this point that we dissent from Max Muller's rejection of the supposition of a primeval revelation. Of course we have nothing to say of the method or medium by which it was made, whether written or otherwise; but that God should have made himself known through some agency to his first children, the parents of our race, seems to us altogether reasonable and believable. Placed on this earth in the beginning, alone in the midst of a boundless universe, without one thread of connection with the past or the future, without one word of explanation as to how he came here, or for what, or whither he is going, in vain would man have looked to the phenomena of the material world for any satisfaction to this yearning and longing, this spirit-hunger, so truly described by our author; in vain would he have sought within himself for an answer to the thousand bewildering and painful questions springing up in the dark depths of his soul. And even if after protracted and sorrowful inquiry he had found some traces of a Creator and a Father, would he not have accused him of neglect for leaving him so long alone with the awful mystery of being?

Is it very unreasonable, then, to suppose that, when God placed our first parents in this world, and started them on their life-journey to the next, he did in some way make himself known to them, and reveal to them his aim and purpose in doing this? Is it wholly unreasonable and improbable that he should give them some information respecting the long travel before them, its difficulties and dangers, and some assurance of his protection and loving kindness by the way? Surely, a revelation of some sort under the circumstances seems to us the most natural, and necessary, and certain thing possible. It is inseparable from the very idea of Creator and Father. And it is at this point that we find an explanation of the fact that all the early religions have something in common, certain truths which lie at the foundation of them all, however much overlaid by the rubbish of priestly

fables and tradition, and buried under the inventions and corruptions of later ages.

But we return to the author's exposition of the first efforts of the religious faculty to utter its longing for a God, and to find a name for him; a name, a sign, however poor and imperfect, which should at least express some portion of that vague and vast something which slumbered in the mind.

"When the name of the brilliant sky had been chosen, as it has been chosen at one time or other by nearly every nation upon earth, was sky the full expression of that within the mind which wanted expression? Was the mind satisfied? Had the sky been recognized as its god? Far from it. People knew perfectly well what they meant by the visible sky; the first man who after looking everywhere for, what he wanted, and who at last in sheer exhaustion grasped at the name of sky as better than nothing, knew but too well that his success was after all a miserable failure. The man who chose that name did not mean, that the visible sky was all he wanted, that the blue canopy above was his god.

And now observe what happens when the name sky has thus been given and accepted. The seeking and finding of such a name, however imperfect, was the act of a manly mind, of a poet, of a prophet, of a patriarch, who could struggle like another Jacob, with the idea of God that was within him, till he had found some name for it. But when that name had to be used with the young and the aged, with silly children and doting grandmothers, it was impossible to preserve it from being misunderstood. The first step downwards would be to look upon the sky as the abode of that being which was called by the same name; the next step would be to forget altogether what was behind the name, and to implore the sky, the visible canopy over our heads, to send rain to protect the fields, the cattle, and the corn, to give to man his daily bread. Nay, very soon those who warned the world that it was not the visible sky that was meant, but that what was meant was something high above, deep below, far away from the blue firmament, would be looked upon either as dreamers whom no one could understand or as unbelievers who despised the sky the, great benefactor of the world. Lastly, many things that were true of the visible sky would be told of its divine namesake, and legends would spring up, destroying every trace of the deity that once was hidden beneath that ambiguous name.

If I have succeeded in expressing myself clearly, I think you will understand in what sense it may be said that there is truth in all religions, even in the lowest. The intention which led to the first utterance of a name like sky, used no longer in its material sense, but in a higher sense was right. The first framer of that name of the deity could as little have thought of the material heaven as we do when we speak of the kingdom of heaven.

"Let us then learn to be charitable in the interpretation of the language of other religions, and we shall more easily learn to be charitable in the interpretation of the language of our own; we shall no longer try to force a literal interpretation on words and sentences in our sacred books which, if interpreted literally must lose their original purport and their spiritual truth. In this way I believe that a comparative study of the religions of the world will teach us many a useful lesson in the study of our own: that it will teach us, at all events, to be charitable both abroad and at home."

We have not space for the thoughts suggested by these extracts. It is plain, however, from sacred history, that in the lapse of ages mankind fell away from the simple and childlike faith of the fathers of the race; from the worship of the one God and Father into the worship of gods many and lords many. The beautiful religious and ethical teachings sometimes found in the sacred books of the Hindoos, the Buddhists, and the Zoroastrians, are the scattered fragments, as we think, of the primeval beliefs, though lying side by side with monstrous errors. To these remnants of truth from the early world wise and saintly men, here and there, clung amid the gathering corruptions and lying legends of their time, seeing in them the reflections of that purer form of faith and worship which prevailed in the morning of the world. At times they made attempts to *re-form* the religions of their respective peoples, and win them back to the knowledge and service of the Supreme, the Infinitely Good; but mostly little came of it, the coarse and material idolatries speedily displacing again the spiritual philosophy and worship of their teachers.

We can only add that in the lecture on the Buddhist Nirvana, or Nihilism,[8] Muller has presented some strong arguments in proof that the true idea of Nirvana taught by Buddha himself, is not utter annihilation of being, as defined by the priests and educated classes, and taught in the third Canon; but rather that of the masses, the popular idea, which he says is that of a sort of blissful Elysium or Mohammedan paradise.

Johannes Cassianus a Universalist – A. D. 390–440.

We do not find this personage mentioned in Dr. Ballou's "Ancient History," nor in the editorial Notes of the new edition; yet *Ueberweg* unqualifiedly declares that Cassianus "could not admit that God would

[8] We do not see the need of printing verbatim eight or nine pages of this lecture in the very next essay on the Dhammapada.

save only a portion of the human race, and that Christ died only for the elect;" and *Hagenbach* quotes him as saying that the doctrine that God "would save only a few is *ingens sacrilegium*," a great sacrilege or blasphemy. Call. xiii; 7. [1]

Such statements invite inquiry respecting his opinions, for he was a person of considerable importance in his time, and distinguished for his energy, activity and personal influence. Indeed, he was regarded as the founder of that system of doctrine known in Church history under the name of Semi-Pelagianism; and his work *De Incarnatione Christi*, was written against Nestorianism at the request of Leo who afterwards became Bishop, or as Catholics would say, Pope of Rome.

He was educated at the celebrated monastery in Bethlehem toward the close of the fourth century. In A. D. 390 he visited the hermits in Egpyt, and spent several years with them. About the year 415 he founded two monasteries at Marseilles, one for Nuns and the other for Monks; the last of which, the famous Abbey of St. Victor, is said to have had at one time while under his care 5000 inmates. It served, in its rules and general economy, as a model to numerous other monastic establishments in France and Spain. He wrote two works on Monastic life and discipline, *De Institutis Cœnobiorum* and *Collationes Patrum Sceticorum*. [2]

He was a strenuous opponent both of Augustine and Pelagius, each according to his view, representing an extreme. He accepted the doctrine of the corruption of human nature as a result of the Fall, but denied that man had thereby lost the ability to do good, and asserted the freedom of the will. He contended for the necessity of *assisting* grace, but believed that faith and effort in most men preceded grace, and prepared the way for it His views found great acceptance among the monks, and with many of the clergy, and at last called out in reply Augustine's *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*. Neander says that his ideas on these questions took their direction and coloring from his views of "divine love, which extends to all men, which wills the salvation of all and refers everything to this; *even subordinating the punishment of the wicked to this single end.*" [3]

[1] Ueberweg's Hist. Phil. i. 345; Hagenbach's Hist. Doc. i. 307; Harper's Biblical & Theological Cyclopedia, *Art.*; Cassianus.

[2] His works were published at Basle in 1575; at Antwerp in 1578; in Rome in 1580 and 1611; at Douai in 1616; and at Leipsic in 1722. The *Collationes* were translated into French in 1663.

[3] Hist. of Ch. Church, ii. 628; Hist. of Dogmas, ii. 377; Bohn's Edit. He affirmed that the doctrine of unconditional predestination could be of no use to any one, and

He expresses himself very strongly sometimes on this last point, and even asserts that "we have to thank God that by his secret influences we are punished for our sins, and are sometimes drawn to salvation even against our wills *nonnuquam etiam inviti trahimur ad salutem*, and that finally he draws our freewill itself, prone by its own inclination to what is vicious and wrong, into the path of virtue." *Institutiones Cœnob.* c. 18. The following statement of his opinions is from Neander's History of Dogmas:

"The practically Christian guided him in treating the doctrines of faith; he admitted nothing which was not suited to satisfy thoroughly the religious wants of men . . . The idea of Divine justice in the determination of man's lot after the first transgression did not preponderate in Cassian's writings as in Augustine's, but the idea of a disciplinary divine love, by the leadings of which men are to be led to repentance. He appeals also to the mysteriousness of God's ways, not as concerns predestination, but the variety of the leadings by which God leads different individuals to salvation." In no instance, however, can divine grace operate independently of the free self-determination of man; as the husbandman must do his part, but all this avails nothing without the divine blessing, so man must do his part, yet this profits nothing without divine grace."

It is a fact worth noting in this connection, that Cassianus went to Constantinople in A.D. 403, where he listened to the celebrated Chrysostom, by whom he was ordained as Deacon. Speaking of Chrysostom, Neander says that but for the necessity of opposing those who made too light of sin and its retributions and would fain reason away the doctrine of eternal punishment, "his mild and amiable spirit might not otherwise be altogether disinclined to the doctrine of a universal restoration, with which he must have become acquainted at an earlier period, from being a disciple of Diodorus of Tarsus." Diodorus was a positive and out-spoken Universalist, and it is significant that Chrysostom, in his Homoletic exposition of 1 Cor. xv. 28, states the views of those who find in this passage the doctrine of a total destruction of evil (ἀναίρεσις της κακίας) without controverting or condemning it, "as he would have done," says Neander, "if he held it to be erroneous." This circumstance and the facts that his teacher was a Universalist, and that one of his most distinguished pupils and ministers was a Universalist, and gave prominence in his teaching to the

might be mischievous to all, inasmuch as it tempted the elect to inactivity from a feeling of over-security, and led sinners to despair by shutting out the possibility of repentance.

moral elements of the gospel, "refering every thing more particularly *to the love of God*"—seem to justify the remark of Neander that we may perhaps "discern in these traits of Cassianus the spirit of the great Chrysostom, with whom he long lived in the capacity of deacon, and whose disciple he delighted to call himself."

At all events it is well known, as Neander states, that many respectable church teachers stood forth as advocates of Universal Restoration, at this period, "without injury to their reputation for orthodoxy." And without doubt many more entertained the same opinion without making it a prominent feature of their public teaching.

"*The Land of the Veda.*" [1]

NOTHING can surpass in profound interest and deep pathos the simple narrative of the Sepoy Rebellion as told in this volume by one who was a witness of its horrors and a sharer in its terrible sufferings. We had read years ago the current story of this outburst of demoniac hate and fury, but Mr. Butler has given us an inside view that is a new revelation, as it were, of its origin, causes, character and results. And the reader will find here what it is probable he will not find so clearly set forth elsewhere, namely: a just and true statement of the political, religious and personal antagonisms, ambitions and expectations which organized, directed, and brought about the failure of this fierce and bloody attempt to destroy the British power in India. No novelist, however fertile his brain, could invent a plot so completely commanding the sympathies and fastening the interest of the reader as this plain story of whispered rumors, neglected warnings, increasing anxieties, flights, sudden outbreaks, massacres, battles, sieges, assaults, heroic resistance of men and women, escapes, and final deliverances.

But the labor of the author is not confined to this record. His fifteen years of familiar intercouse with the English, the government officials, the army and its officers, and the Mohammedan and native Hindoo populations, has enabled him to furnish a most valuable and

[1] The Land of the Veda: Being Personal Reminiscences of India: its People, Castes, Thugs, Fakirs; its Religion, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums: Together with the Incidents of the Great Sepoy Rebellion, and its Results to Christianity and Civilization. With a Map of India, and forty-two Illustrations. Also Statistical Tables of Christian Missions, and a Glossary of Indian Terms used in this Work and in Missionary Correspondence. By Rev. William Butler, D.D. Carlton & Lanahan. $5.00.

readable account of the social condition of India, as affected by the combination of all these hostile elements. And his narrative confirms the opinion we have often expressed, that the English rule, however great the abuses of power, which under the East India Company were sometimes monstrous, has been from the outset an immense gain over the infernal despotisms of the Mohammedan tyrants, and a positive blessing to the people of India. And since the abolition of the godless East India Company,[2] and the freedom of action enjoyed by Christian missionaries — or, in other words, since the failure of the Sepoy attempt to crush out the English power and Christianity and restore the Mogul dynasties and the old religion, the great advances made in India in all that belongs to modern civilization are almost beyond estimate. And we do not mean by this merely the material civilization which shows itself in canals, railroads, telegraphs, commerce and increasing wealth; but that higher civilization which expresses its aims in good government, wise and beneficent laws and their impartial administration, in schools and charitable institutions, and in the general elevation of the people, which surely, though slowly at first, follow wherever Christianity gets itself firmly planted. And it is worthy of note, as Mr. Butler abundantly shows from their own testimony, that the native populations appreciate and acknowledge the advantages of the English rule in their equal rights before the law, reasonable taxation, security of life and property, the safety of travel and labor, and the social order everywhere prevailing.

Another interesting feature of this work is the indisputable proof it furnishes of the important influence of Christianity in this great work of improvement. Every fair minded man reading this volume, after making all allowance for the Methodist enthusiasm and personal par-

[2] The facts justify this strong expression. The East India Company had no regard for Christianity, or civilization, or morals, or anything but what added to their gains, and patronized heathenism and its abomination wherever this course increased these gains. Lord Clive presented to an idol at Conwaram an ornament costing $1,850. Governor General Aukland offered at the Muttra shrine $1,000, and was praised in a native newspaper for his *piety*. Lord Ellenborough ordered the gates of the Temple of Soumatta — carried off centuries before — to be brought back at public expense. And Lord Dalhousie changed his dress, out of reverence to the temple of Muritsur which he entered to present a gift of $2,500. And as late as 1856 a sepoy was expelled from the army for professing Christianity, and the commanding officers and the civil judge who attended his baptism were reproved by the Governor-General! — so anxious was this greedy corporation lest it should lose its hold upon the dead body it was robbing. Under its rule from 1815 to 1825, it suffered no less than 9037 widows to be burned alive on the funeral piles of their husbands in a single district of its vast empire!

tiality of the writer, must admit the beneficent and civilizing work of the Missionaries. Long time ago we expressed an opinion of that *liberal* bigotry which shows the largeness of its thought in cheap sneers at missionary enterprise, and in sharp calculations of the cost of saving a heathen soul; and this work confirms our opinion, and shows how little *they* comprehend the real benefits and blessings of foreign missions who measure their influence for good by the number of actual converts made. This is but a small part of their work. The greater fruits of their enterprise are seen in the humanizing, civilizing and Christianizing forces which they bring to bear on the entire community; on the laws, customs, superstitions, business, the social barbarism and domestic abuses in the daily life of the people. And this in spite of Church dogmas; for with these dogmas they take also the New Testament, the Sermon on the Mount, the life and teachings of Jesus, the sublime unselfishness of Christian Love, and the beauty and attraction of a pure and good life. These are the leavening forces which sooner or later change the whole substance of the heathen life, and, as in the case of the Sandwich Islands, lift the people at last to the level of Christian thought and manhood.

And when we see the generous devotion and self-sacrifice of such men as Dr. Butler and his worthy associates; when we see them so cheerfully encountering, as this book shows, perils by sea and perils by land, perils in the city and in the wilderness, perils among the heathen and perils among robbers, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst — and all this for the sake of these miserable idolaters, we confess to a feeling of admiration which in spite of dogmatic differences makes us at one with them in spirit.

Though the information given respecting the sacred books, the mythology, and idolatry of the Hindoos, and the moral corruption and cruelty growing out of them, is not new to the historical student, most readers will find it full of interest, and furnishing an eloquent reason for missionary effort in behalf of this degraded people. Any form of Christianity, however overlaid and crippled in its influence by the false dogmas of the Church, is a thousand fold preferable to the abominations of Juggernaut, Thuggism, Siva worship, Dervish beastliness, Widow-burning, Caste, and kindred horrors.

The accounts of the architectual wonders of India, its towers, temples, palaces, tombs and monuments, will be new to many readers, and will help to give them some idea of the enormous wealth and the

unparalleled splendors of the Mogul conquerors and rulers of this land of marvels and mysteries.

Antioch in Syria.

THE recent earthquake by which some two thousand people in Antioch and its neighborhood lost their lives, and a large number of public and private buildings were laid in ruins, furnishes an occasion for calling attention to this renowned city, once the "Queen of the East," and which ranked third in the Roman Empire.

It was founded, B. C. 300, by Seleucus Nicator, one of the generals of Alexander the Great, on the river Orontes, about three hundred miles north of Jerusalem. It rapidly increased in population and power, and became the metropolis of Syria, and was celebrated for the beauty and magnificence of its buildings, its aqueducts, amphitheatres, baths; and for its great streets of colonnades, one of which was built by Herod the Great. It has frequently been nearly destroyed by earthquakes, and several times brought to the verge of ruin — as in A. D. 526, when it is said that 250,000 persons perished! and it is this fact which leads Gibbon to put the population at that date at 500,000. Chrysostom reckons it at 200,000, the immense additional crowd at the time named being attracted by the Festival of the Ascension. The truth probably, as usual, lies between the two extremes.

One thing seems certain that one half the population in the fourth century were Christians, at the least 100,000; and of these 3000 were supported by the charities of the Church of Antioch. At that period the Christian church made provision for its poor, and did not permit them to become a public charge.

Christianity was preached in Antioch at an early day, as may be seen by the record of Luke in Acts xi, Paul and Barnabas laboring there for a whole year, and laying the foundations of the first Gentile Christian church. And it was in this city of Antioch that the disciples of Jesus were first called *Christians* (*vs.* 26.) probably by the heathen to distinguish them from others, as they called the disciples of Plato *Platonists;* though some think the appellation was applied contemptuously, in derision of the despised sect. The rapid progress which the new religion made in Antioch is attested by contemporaneous history, and the great influence exerted in ecclesiastical affairs by the Church and the School of Antioch. Ignatius was bishop of this church, and suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Trajan.

Twelve or thirteen church councils were held there during the first seven or eight centuries.

The Antiochian School embraced some of the most learned scholars and profound theologians of the early church; among whom were Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia; Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus; Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, the birthplace of Paul; and the celebrated Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, all of whom were Universalists, illustrating and defending the doctrine of the Restitution in their writings and teachings.

This school of Theology was distinguished from that of Alexandria of which Origen and Clement, the well known Universalist Fathers, were presidents, by its logical methods, and scientific expositions of doctrine and Scripture. It encouraged the study of the sacred writings, and aimed in its interpretations to avoid the allegorical method of the Alexandrian school on the one hand, and the rigorously literal interpretation of the mere letter on the other. Through its example other seminaries of theological instruction were established by the Syrian churches, whose salutary influence was felt and acknowledged in the growth of a more thoroughly grammatical and exegetical study of the Scriptures. In these schools theology was taught and the Scriptures expounded by public lectures as a branch of Christian education, as systematically as were grammar and rhetoric in the Pagan schools.

Though the Antiochian School was founded by Dorotheus and Lucian, yet its character and importance were chiefly due to the learning and teaching of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Besides the stress laid upon a rational and logical method of interpreting the Bible, they introduced a more liberal criticism of the canon, distinguished between the divine and human elements of inspiration, and allowed for the individualism of thought and style and treatment of the different sacred writers. So also they distinguished between the divine and human in Christ. Theodore says, as quoted by Neander,

"In reference to the union of Divinity and Humanity we acknowledge one person, just as we say of a man and his wife that they are one; but in reference to the distinction, we acknowledge two Natures and two Persons, God and Man; for we cannot conceive of a perfect nature without a perfect person — consequently Divine honor is due to Christ in reference to his divinity, and, in a certain sense, in reference to his humanity; for the proper Son of God made use of the

man Jesus as his organ, and dwelt in him as a temple — but the one is God according to his essential nature, with whom the Man is united, and shares his name and honor." *Hist. of Dogmas;* 328.

In view of other statements of his opinions, however, it is not easy to determine the exact meaning to be attached to this extract.

As regards Universal Restitution, the doctrine is logically inherent in the philosophy and theology of the Antiochian School, and forms a leading feature in the teaching of its scholars. Gregory Nyssen's faith in this dogma was set forth in strong language, of which we gave an example in the April *Quarterly.* Diodorus of Tarsus, the teacher of the celebrated Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia stated their views in equally positive and intelligible language. Theodore, who was one of the most eloquent preachers as well as voluminous writers of his time, and bishop of Mopsuestia for thirty-six years, reasons as follows:

"If the rewards of eternity so far exceed good works and the brief period of life, ought not the punishments much more to be overcome by the divine mercy. God would not revive the wicked at the resurrection, if they must needs suffer only punishment without reformation." And again: "They who have chosen the good shall in the future world be blessed and honored. But the wicked who have committed evil the whole period of their lives, shall be punished till they learn that by continuing in sin they only continue in misery. And when by this means they shall have been brought to fear God, and to regard him with good will, they shall obtain the enjoyment of his grace. For he never would have said, *Until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing* (Matt. v. 26), unless we could be released from punishment, after having adequately suffered for sin; nor would he have said, *He shall be beaten with many stripes*, and again, *He shall be beaten with few stripes* (Luke xii. 47), unless the punishment to be endured for sin will have an end." *Neander's Hist. and Ballou's Ancient Hist.*

These will suffice to show the position of the Antiochian school of theology on the all important question of human destiny; and, when we consider its influence on the theology of the Oriental church, we may infer something of the extent to which this doctrine was held among the hundred thousand believers composing the church at Antioch, and among the Eastern Christians generally.

But we must hasten to a close. The terrible earthquake which has just laid so large a part of Antioch in ruins has aroused the sympathy, and invited the assistance of Christians both in Europe and America, and yet there was only one Christian church within its borders!

though there were a dozen Mohammedan Mosques. So great the change and desolation since the days of Chrysostom. But few cities in the world have suffered more or greater calamities than Antioch. About one hundred and fifty years from its foundation the Jews slaughtered 100,000 of its inhabitants. Beside the repeated destructions by earthquakes, it has been besieged and plundered at least fifteen times; has suffered from three famines; been once desolated by the Plague; and twice burned, being, in 540, totally destroyed by Chosroes king of Persia, and afterwards rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian. In the year 638 it was taken by the Saracens; recovered by the Emperor of the East in 966; lost again in 1086; retaken by the Crusaders in 1098; and in 1288 captured by the Sultan of Egypt, who slew 17,000 of the inhabitants, and sent 100,000 into captivity. In 1822 the population was reduced to 20,000, five or six thousand of whom perished in the earthquake of that year. From the effects of this it never recovered, but has continued to decline until this last calamity, when the inhabitants numbered only six thousand, of whom one quarter were destroyed.

Assyrian Library.

It would seem at first a strange use of the word Library to apply it to a collection of clay tablets and cylinders, and yet there is no doubt that this is a correct use of the term when employed in regard to the royal records of the Assyrian monarchs. Mr. Layard, it will be remembered by some of our readers, made a most remarkable discovery in this line at Nineveh, having come upon two rooms in the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, to which he gave the name of the *Chambers of Records.* These contained nearly the whole mass of Assyrian literature left us, with the exception of that inscribed on the monuments, embracing the decrees of the kings, the archives of the empire, and works in almost every department of such learning as was cultivated in those ages. The library was dedicated to the god and goddess of knowledge, and was undoubtedly a Public Library, perhaps the first in the world. There is an inscription of the founder of the institution running as follows:

"Palace of Asshur-bani-pal, king of the world, king of Assyria, to whom the God Nebo and the goddess Tasmit have given the ears to hear, and opened the eyes to see, what is the true foundation of gov-

ernment. They revealed to the kings, my predecessors, this cuneiform writing, the manifestation of the god Nebo, the god of supreme intelligence: I wrote it upon tablets, I signed and arranged them, and I placed them in my palace, *for the instruction of my subjects!*"

It would seem from this that the Assyrian monarch had anticipated us in the matter of free libraries, and in the doctrine that general knowledge, education of the people, is the true and sure foundation of government. Let us turn now to the description given by the discoverer of this library of its condition when found by him. We take the account from Harpers' "Ancient History of the East," by Philip Smith, which borrows it from Layards's "Nineveh and Babylon," where many more particulars may be found.

"To the height of a foot or more from the floor the rooms were entirely filled with clay tablets — some entire, but the greater part broken into fragments. They were of different sizes; the largest tablets were flat, and measure about 9 inches by 6 1-2 inches; the smaller were slightly convex, and some were not more than an inch long, with but one or two lines of writing. The cuneiform characters on most of them were singularly sharp and well-defined, but so minute in some instances as to be almost illegible without a magnifying-glass. They had been impressed by an instrument on the moist clay, which had been afterwards baked.

"These documents appear to be of various kinds, principally historical records of wars and distant expeditions undertaken by the Assyrians; royal decrees stamped with the king's name; lists of the gods, and probably a register of offerings made in their temples; prayers; tables of the value of certain cuneiform letters, expressed by different alphabetical signs; trilingual and bilingual vocabularies of the Assyrian and of an ancient language once spoken in the country [the Accadian]; grammatical phrases; calendars; lists of sacred days; astronomical calculations; lists of animals, birds, and various objects, etc., etc. Many are sealed with seals, and prove to be legal contracts, or conveyances of land. Others bear impressions of engraved cylinders. Many cases were filled with these tablets, which are deposited in the British Museum. We cannot overrate their value. They furnish us with material for the complete decipherment of the cuneiform character, for restoring the language and history of Assyria, and for inquiring into the customs, sciences, and, it may perhaps even be added, literature of its people. The documents that have thus been discovered at Nineveh probably exceed all that have yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt.

"Some progress has been already made in deciphering these documents. One proves to be nothing less than a vast *Encyclopedia of Assyrio-Babylonian Grammar*, explaining the difficulties both of the

writing and the language, and consisting of the following five parts: (1) A *Lexicon of the Accadian (Caldo-Scythic or Chaldæan) Language*, with the meanings of the words in Assyrian: (2) A *Dictionary of Assyrian Synonyms:* (3) An *Assyrian Grammar*, containing the conjugations of verbs: (4) A *Dictionary of the Characters of the Anarian Cuneiform Writing*, with their *ideographic meanings* and their *phonetic* values. The several tablets which form (so to speak) the *leaves* or *folios* of this great work, as well as those of the other books in the library — often written on both sides — are carefully *numbered*, and they were doubtless arranged in cases in the order of this paging.

"For history and chronology we have only fragments — but invaluable fragments — of the *Table of Eponymous Officers*, complete for almost three centuries (B. C. 911 to 660), which, like the lists of Athenian Archons and the Roman *Fasti Consulares*, constantly assigns the events recorded in the royal annals to their proper years, and fixes the succession of the kings themselves. A single fragment, unhappily, is all that remains of a *Synchronical History of Assyria and Babylon*, in parallel columns. There are the fragments of a *Geographical Dictionary*, containing an enumeration of the countries, cities, mountains, and rivers known to the Assyrians; and those of a *List of the Proper Names* used in the country; as well as a vast mass of *statistical documents* relating to the hierarchy of administrative officers, and the different provinces of the empire, their productions and revenues. *Law* is represented by the fragments of a treatise on private rights; and *Religion* by a vast number of mythological fragments, not yet deciphered, and by the remains of a collection of *Hymns*, the style of which often resembles the Hebrew Psalms."

Religious World.

We give place to the following from Stopford Brooke's new volume, from the press of J. R. Osgood, for two reasons: *First*, for the sound and strong faith, the earnest spirit, and the loving heart which it discovers — *Second*, for the proof it furnishes to our oft repeated assertion respecting the largeness of belief, and the freedom of speech, existing in the English Church on the all-absorbing question of human destiny. The extract, which is from the second of the three sermons on *Immortality*, shows that the recent demand of the *London Contemporary Review*, that "Eternal Punishment" shall be regarded as an "Open Question in the Church of England" is already practically admitted. Certainly Brooke, Kingsley and others do not suffer for "holding the view of justice, mercy and reason" set forth below, and "abjuring the popular dogma" which, as the writer in the "Review" shows is "not found in either the Creeds (Apostles and Nicene) or the Articles of the Church":

"Day by day the doctrine of the eternity of evil is being driven into its native night before a higher view of the nature of God, and a nobler belief in him as the undying righteousness.

We are beginning to understand what Christ meant when he said, 'other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd.' It was a must, an imperative duty which the Saviour felt, and he spoke in the name of God, who feels the same as a necessity of his relation to us.

The act of creation lays on us a duty. We bring a child into the world, and the absolute, imperative command of God is on us to feed, educate, and love to the end, that to which we have given life. We do our best for the child, but we will suppose that all goes wrong. We expend our love upon him, he rejects it; we punish, and he hardens under punishment, and leaves us; we go after him, and he refuses to return; we give him up to himself for a time, and he grows worse, and dies impenitent. But if we are of a true human nature, we cannot forget him. Our first thought in the other world is our erring son, and if we can — and I for one do not doubt it — our one effort in the eternal life will be to find him out and redeem him to our heart by any sacrifice which love can prompt. And even could love not move us, duty would call us to this righteous quest. We *must* bring our wanderer home.

It is so, I firmly believe, with God and men. Ry the very act of creation, God has laid upon himself a necessity of redemption. We wandered from him and he punishes us through his spiritual laws; we reap that which we have sown; we fill our belly with the husks which the swine eat. He lets us eat of the fruit of our own devices; the day of retribution comes, and our pleasures turn to gall, our irritated desires become our *Hell*. Lower and lower and lower still we sink, and suffering is hard on us, for impenitent man must touch the abyss of God's chastising tenderness before pride and self be conquered into penitence. But God waits and works. 'Them also I must bring' speaks the necessity which flows from his fatherhood, all through our deepest ruin. God's victorious love is opposed to man's reluctant hatred and despair, till at last they, being of the finite finite, and of the dead things of the universe dead, are shattered to pieces by persistent love. And the child, come to himself, calls out from the depths of divine misery, 'I will arise, and go to my Father.' Far off the father sees him, and in triumphant joy receives him: 'This, my son, was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found.' It will be thus within eternity, till, in the fullness of charity, there shall at last be one flock and one shepherd. Most tender and most true of images! Contrast it in beauty, with the common notion of the future of the race; that notion which has maddened men into Atheism and hatred of immortality — a small flock on which all the infinite love of the infinite goodness is outpoured, and beyond its fold a howling wilderness of the lost and ruined souls; lost and ruined forever and ever, and rained upon by the eternal fires of the everlasting anger of a vindic-

tive God. It is not so; that is not our heaven, nor that the immortality for which we cry. God must have all his creatures to himself. 'There shall be one flock and one Shepherd.'"

— Prof. Tyler, of Yale College, says, "A candid, not dogmatic and bitter, review of the grounds of our belief regarding future punishment is greatly needed at the present day. I speak for the laymen as one of them; and I know also that not a few of our devout and thoughtful clergymen have serious difficulties on this point. Some of them live on in silence, seeking relief from these felt difficulties in a smothered hope of universal salvation, or at least in a final restoration of the wicked, or else they fancy a probation beyond the grave: in either case failing to give decided utterance of that future woe, so solemnly enforced by the Great Teacher." We are glad to add another to the confessions of Prof. Stuart, Dr. Patton, Barnes, Beecher, &c., showing how heavy is the yoke which the dogma of endless punishment lays upon the neck of its believers; and how unlike the light yoke and easy burden of Christ and his gospel.

— The excavations going on at Ephesus upon the site of the famous temple of Diana, whose silver-shrine makers gave Paul so much trouble (Acts xix.), have already laid bare a large portion of the space occupied by the temple, and exposed almost its entire floor or pavement. Destroyed by an earthquake, and plundered by the Goths, this world-renowned structure served as a quarry for the Ephesian architects, until the remnants of its ruins were abandoned to the slow burial of time. In the passage of the centuries twenty-two feet of alluvial deposit gathered over them, and the site was forgotten and unknown until British enterprise, after years of labor, penetrating to this depth made the grand discovery nearly a year ago. Since then, as remarked, a large area of the temple has been cleared to the pavement, and various architectural marbles have been found, more or less mutilated, lying as they had been left by the barbarous despoilers in Byzantine times. The diameter of the columns of the temple being six feet, the scale of the architecture is, of course colossal, exceeding it is believed, in proportions the celebrated Temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens and all extant examples of Greek architecture.

— In the year 1855, a very remarkable relic of antiquity was found at Sidon in the shape of a marble sarcophagus, on the lid of which

was a Phœnician inscription of twenty-two lines. Over the ownership of this memento of the past there arose a quarrel between the representatives of the French and English Governments, which was finally settled by the interference of the Turkish Government. The result is that the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar is now to be seen in the museum of the Louvre, and the inscription upon it is as perfect as when first finished by the graver's hands, some six centuries before Christ.

Many paragraphs from the Religious World and notices of important books crowded out of this number, will find place in the October number.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. Charles Scribner & Co. New York. 1872.

This work, of which two large octavo volumes have already appeared, may, we think, be pronounced one of the finest contributions to theological science, which the present generation, at least on this side of the Atlantic, has produced. Dr. Hodge deservedly stands at the head of his profession, certainly in the church with which he is connected, and these volumes appear as the ripe fruit of a life-time spent in the study of theology and in teaching it. We think the work before us especially valuable for its discussion of many topics now agitating the religious world, such as Rationalism in its various phases; Materialism, now growing into favor under the seductive guise of science; Pantheism, more widely diffused among a certain class arrogating to themselves the honor of "advanced thought;" Mysticism, etc., etc. We do not know where the theologian, old or young could lay his hand on a work that would at once give him so clear an insight into these and other mischievous errors, and at the same time furnish him with a plain and candid refutation of them. Dr. Hodge has no fear of our pretended philosophies, and is quite willing to let truth and error grapple, under the full conviction that Christianity is strong enough to withstand all attacks, come whence they may. It is indeed refreshing to note with what ease and how effectively he disposes of the fashionable objections drawn from pretended science, and sends the objector back to study his facts again, or to first settle his dispute with other "scientists" who are his peers, and whose opinions contradict his own.

It is not to be expected that we should altogether agree with our author's theology, which is the highest type of Calvinism now extant in the learned circles of this country, but which even at Princeton shows in no doubtful way the modifying influences of wider and better thought. But however our convictions of Christian truth may differ from the system here developed, we cannot withhold our approval of the greater part of the work, and earnestly commend it to the attention of our readers.

We think it would have materially widened the sphere of the influence of these volumes had the learned author translated the many passages in foreign languages, now in the text, and placed the original, if deemed advisable, in foot-notes. We fear there are some Presbyterian clergymen, as well as most laymen to whom Latin, French, and German are not so familiar as to render a translation altogether undesirable; and even many who would be very glad to see the words of the original, are still willing to confess that plain English is, after all, somewhat easier reading than any foreign tongue whatever.

It has long seemed to us that systematic theology might gain some important advantages by adopting a different and more scientific order. It is quite in vain to attempt the discussion of theology without avowed or tacit recognition of the great facts, on the intellectual and moral side, of human nature. Man was made in the image of God, and it is only by virtue of this truth that a theology is possible. We are rational and moral beings, and hence necessarily conclude that he who made us, must himself be rational and moral. And these attributes in God must be the same in God that they are in us, or otherwise we could not know him, nor form any conception of his character. This truth Dr. Hodge, even with his doctrine of original sin and total depravity, acknowledges.

"If justice and benevolence," says he, "are distinct in us, they are distinct in God. If we, in obedience to the nature He has given us, intuitively perceive and judge that sin ought to be punished for its own sake, and irrespective of the good effect punishment may have on others, then such also is the judgment of God. This is the principle which underlies and determines all our ideas of the Supreme Being. If moral perfection be not in Him what it is in us, then He is an unknown something, and we use words without meaning when we speak of Him as holy, just, and good."

Now if the fact is as Dr. Hodge here so clearly affirms, is it not obvious that we must know what moral perfection is in ourselves before it is possible for us to determine what it is in God. Anthropology necessarily precedes theology: and it becomes a very curious, not to say a very serious question, how beings "totally depraved," as Dr. Hodge teaches that man is, "averse to all good and inclined to all evil," can attain to any conception of either justice, holiness, or benevolence.

3. The Tomorrow of Death; or the Future Life according to Science. By Louis Figuier. Author of "Primitive Man," etc. Translated from the French. By S. R. Crocker. Roberts Brothers. $1.75.

"According to Science" represents in this case as pretty a piece of speculation and extravagant fancy as we have lately met with. If it is science, it is science run mad. M. Figuier distributes man into the three divisions of Body, Life and Soul. When the body is worn out, or from any cause becomes incapacitated for its business, the life principle withdraws from it, and, passing into some other form of manifestation, leaves the body to decompose and return to earth. But the soul is not dependent for its existence and continuance on the body or on the life, but is endowed with a vital fore or indestructible life of its own, and whether on earth or elsewhere never loses its self-hood or personality.

Next our author proceeds to show that earth, air and water are all crowded with various forms of living beings. Why should not ether, "the void" the region beyond the atmosphere of the earth, have also its life, beings fitted to live under its peculiar conditions? Analogy would lead to such a conclusion. And so in this vast realm he locates the future life of the soul, the "To-morrow of Death," to which "according to science" we ascend as soon as the body falls away from us. But the "we" in this case embraces only the pure and faithful souls. Still, M. Figuier is not willing to give over the other class to hopeless and irretrievable ruin; whether in the shape of endless sin and torment, or of annihilation. So he has partially revived the ancient doctrine of transmigration in their behalf; the coarse, ignorant, and depraved souls being sent again into human bodies, and again, as many times as needful, until they are "sufficiently developed," and so far "freed from imperfections" that they can quit the earth and soar into space." And curiously enough, which sets aside the idea of punishment in this arrangement, children dying in infancy are given over to the same fate, "passing into the bodies of other children and beginning a new life," and so coming gradually to maturity.

But the soul experiences more than one such change as that we call death. At the end of some indefinite period after it has ascended into space, it dies again, and enters another body and a higher life; and finally, after repeated removals, each being a step toward its perfection, it arrives in the sun a pure spirit, without body, or material clothing, or carnal alloy — and thenceforth, its wanderings over, the sun is its home or heaven.

3. Radical Problems. By C. A. Bartol. Roberts Brothers. $2.00,

Spicy, absurd, sparkling with brilliants both of thought and expression, suggestive; fearless and impartial in its criticism, very oracular, with noble ideas half strangled in the utterance; abounding in apt illustration and anecdote, tolerant of unbelief, lofty in its contempt of all faith in creeds and Bibles; always infallible, prophetic, rich in ripe thoughts uttered in a sort of hide-and-seek, hop-skip-and-jump

style; every-day truths coming forward with a very aristocratic air and manner; disjointed, picturesque, Carlylish, radical in this, anti-radical in that; flippant, showy, of as many colors as Joseph's coat or a school-girl's patchwork; intolerant in its love of liberty, preferring nakedness to any kind of uniform, ready to blaspheme through fear of being thought afraid to; skilful in its dissection of materialism, strong in its assertion of the supremacy of spirit; crisp, epigrammatic sentences without a beginning, snapping off in the middle with a kind of Chinese-cracker emphasis; egotistic, yet revealing a spirit subdued to gentleness, through much doubting and painful "experience" (which see); poetical, aglow with beautiful pictures from Nature and Life, loving toward God and Man — or, all in one word, thoroughly *Bartolic*.

4. Three Score Years and Beyond; or Experiences of the Aged. A Book for Old People, describing the Labors, Home Life, and Closing Experiences of a large number of Aged Representative Men and Women. Illustrated Edition. By Rev. W. H. De Puy, D. D. Carlton and Lanahan. $5.00.

Precisely the book for a New Year's or Birth-day gift to your aged parent or grandparents; for, though tinged all through, with the author's theology, it seldom comes in an offensive shape, and even then is neutralized by its constant and eloquent testimony to the value of that Christian faith which rises above all creed distinctions, and crowns the last moments of the dying with a beauty and a glory as of heaven. The writer has selected his examples without regard to denomination, looking only to the question of Christian experiences, and their illustration of the great truth that Christ has conquered death, and made us conquerors and more than conquerors through faith in him. And he has classified them as the aged of the Bible. Reformers, Missionaries, Martyrs, Pastors, Statesmen, Orators, Jurists, Philosophers, &c.; including Luther, Wesley, Howard, Wilberforce, Beecher, Asbury, Cotton Mather, Neander, Irving, Franklin, Jefferson, Josiah Quincy, Edward Everett, Webster, Sir Isaac Newton, Andubon, etc.

The chapter headed "Miscellaneous" is one of the most instructive and affecting in the book; "The Old Christian Negro," and "One Hundred and Seventeen Years," being admirable examples of the sweet and patient spirit inspired by Christianity, its sanctifying power over the affections and the life, and the sacred peace with which it clothes, as with a garment, the departing spirit.

No intelligent Universalist can be harmed by the heresies of the book, while he will be sure to be greatly profited by its narratives, and blessed by the spirit which pervades them. The publishers have made it a very beautiful volume externally, and the fair and generous type will be a joy to the dim vision of the aged.

5. The Life of Abraham Lincoln; from his Birth to his Inauguration as President. By Ward H. Lamon. With Illustrations. James R. Osgood. pp. 550. $5.00.

This is probably the only authentic biography of Lincoln which we have, or probably shall have. The author has evidently exhausted

all the sources of information respecting the early life of the man who occupies so large a space in our national history. Indeed we are half sorry he has carried his researches so far, into so many holes and corners, for information which is neither valuable nor pleasant. We are decidedly of opinion that the first one hundred and fifty pages might have been altogether omitted, or condensed into ten pages, much to the advantage of the book, and without "injury to the conscience of a biographer professing to be honest and candid."

We do uot believe it essential to true biography that the transient and incidental should be put on the same plane of importance with the permanent and substantial; that all the follies and coarseness and vulgarity of the boy, which are short-lived and evanescent, are to be recorded and elaborated with as much minuteness and copiousness as the shining qualities and virtues which constitute the established character and self-hood of the man. We do not believe that the gossip and babble of Dennis Hanks, and the relations of Mr. Lincoln to the bully Jack Armstrong, and the long legs and short pants of "young Abe," the quality of his hat and suspenders, are as absolutely necessary to a correct estimate of the President, as his boyish resolution to acquire knowledge, his long journeys after books in that literary desert, his devotion to study under all possible discouragements, his thirst for distinction, his sympathy with the weak and oppressed, his early political aspirations, his self-training for a public speaker, his first efforts and successes as a lawyer, the character of his eloquence, and finally his entrance upon the field of politics. These are the facts and features of his history which the world is interested to know, these the elements and forces which shaped the character and determined the life of the future president; and we heartily regret that Mr. Lamon could not have seen that these which he has faithfully recorded, and not all the coarse details of his first chapters, would have fulfilled his obligations as an "honest biographer."

No doubt his readers have a right to know something of his childhood surroundings, of his extreme poverty, his life in flat-boats and groceries, of his low companions, of his conflicts and struggles with circumstances, of the vulgar manners and indecent stories, songs and satires of his early years — a drift against which he vainly struggled in after life — of his petty spite against those who failed to invite him to their entertainments, etc. But, this granted, it does not follow that it should run into tedious and disgusting detail, and spread over a hundred and fifty pages; when a general statement of the essential facts in ten or twenty pages would have been ample for a just judgment of their influences on his future character and life.

Many who have been warm admirers of Mr. Lincoln, and have come to venerate him as the Martyr President, will be painfully surprised by some of the revelations of this volume. His somewhat confused estimates of the honorable and dishonorable; his insatiable ambition for place and power; his curious love experiences and resultant insanities, together with his not very creditable conduct in one case;

his book against the Bible, wisely burned by a thoughtful friend; his ridicule and rejection of Christianity, and his offensive maintenance of "infidel opinions," will bring regrets to multitudes who have held him in honor and affection. Yet his faith in God, in his Fatherhood, in his providential guidance of human affairs, in the immortality of the soul, and the reunions of the future life, seems to have been sincere, and a source of courage and comfort in his darkest days.

This volume takes us to his election and inauguratiou in the years 1860–1. A second is to give his history during that memorable struggle which ended in the death of the President and of Slavery.

6. Christ in Modern Life: Sermons preached in St. James Chapel, York St., St. James Square, London. By the Rev. Stopford Brooke. Honorary Chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

What a privilege to have listened to these sermons as they came from the lips of the eloquent preacher, quick with his life and earnestness. How grand the thought which underlies them all: The truths and doctrines which were taught by the Saviour are capable of endless expansion to suit the wants of men in every age; and they do expand, developing into new forms of larger import and wider application in a direct proportion to that progress of mankind of which they are both root and sap.

Our readers already know what we think of Stopford Brooke's sermons. We add only this here — that if the Queen of England is not a believer in the great restoration, it is strange that she should select two such outspoken Universalists for her chaplains, as Charles Kingsley and Stopford Brooke. It is strange that she should be willing to listen to such argument as is found in the three sermons on Immortality, an extract from which the reader will find in the *Religious World*.

7. Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers. Scribner Armstrong & Co. $1.50.

This memoir of the well known Edinburg publisher, prepared by his brother William, who was so closely associated with him in his desperate struggle for knowledge, and in his hard fight with discouragements, misfortunes, neglect, cold and hunger, as well as in his labors and successes, is every way a model volume. In every page we have found both instruction and pleasure. The history of the brave boys who began life and business by opening, each, a bookstall with a dozen or so of old volumes, and by their self-denial, integrity, good judgment, industry and persistent push, achieved a world-wide reputation as publishers and literary laborers, and built up a splendid business and fortune, cannot fail to interest and encourage young men just entering upon a business career. To such we most cordially recommend this attractive book, from which they will gather many useful and salutary lessons; while at the same time they will learn many pleasant things of the literary men of the day, and be charmed with its sweet pictures of Scottish life and its quaint illustrations of

Scottish character. Perhaps the key to the character and successes of the Chambers brothers may be found in this sentence in the first number of the "Journal" which William founded, and raised to a circulation of 90,000: "I see the straight path of moral responsibility before me, and shall, by the blessing of God, adhere to the line of rectitude and duty." Let this volume have place in all our Sunday School libraries — let all the boys read it, and carefully ponder the story of these two Scotch lads.

8 *Three Centuries of English Literature.* By Charles Duke Yonge. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1872. $2.00.

The author of this handsome volume is Regius Professor of Modern History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, Ireland. The three centuries here brought under review begin with Shakespear, of course, and reach down to the present day. The field is wide enough for a much more extended discussion than Professor Yonge has given it, but by a successful grouping of the various writers in their several classes, or departments of literature, he has succeeded in giving a comprehensive and very satisfactory view of the whole. His critical judgments seem candid and generally just, while the selections with which he illustrates the excellences of his authors are chosen with taste and skill. Such a volume cannot fail greatly to aid the young in their appreciation of English literature, as well as in directing them to the best authors in its various departments. His introduction is very good, with many excellent points. T. J. S.

9. *The History of Greece.* By Prof. Dr. Ernst Curtis. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, England. Revised after the last German edition, with an Index, by Prof. W. A. Packard, Ph. D. vol. III. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. $2.50.

We have already expressed an opinion regarding the great merits of this able and, as it seems to us, final, work on the history of Greece—final, not perhaps in all its jugdments, but in the exhaustive study of the original sources of information, and in the accumulation and use of materials. The present volume embraces the complete history of the Peloponessian War, the heroic and protracted struggle of poor, doomed Athens, and the final crushing out of her power by the combined forces of Sicily, Sparta and Thebes and the other Grecian States, encouraged and aided by Persian gold.

Besides the general history the reader will find much special information respecting the brilliant career of Alcibiades; to say nothing of the literary lights, as Pindar, Aristophanes, Æschylus, &c. The following is Prof. Curtis's judgment of Pericles:

"The greatness of Pericles essentially consists in his uniting in himself all the great and productive ideas of earlier times — ideas refined and regulated by him, and made to form one grand system; and the greatness of Athens, for which he worked to the last, without allowing either good or evil fortune to divert him from the pursuit, was no greatness imagined by him, no ideal formed out of philosophic theories, but the goal demanded by the past, a goal which Athens must reach or prove untrue to herself and her mission in history."

10. *A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New York, with Sketches of its History in Reading, Hightstown, Brooklyn, and elsewhere.* By Abel C. Thomas. pp. 350.

A book which we cordially welcome for its exceedingly interesting and valuable collection of facts respecting the early history of Universalism; and for the worthy example it furnishes to our elder clergy, who, we hope, will be influenced by it to gather up the fragments before the night comes on in which no man can work. How many entertaining, instructive and historically important incidents might be registered by Streeter, Palmer, Drew, Bates, Bain, Balch, Paige, Willis, Griffin, and others, which to the future historian will be as pictures of the times in which they lived; reflecting the spirit of the churches, the temper of the saints, the controversies and conflicts, the social ostracisms and domestic hindrances of the fathers — and which, if not gathered up and recorded now, will soon perish from the remembrance of man. Who of these aged laborers will do for the New England States, who among us will do for Boston and its vicinity, what Mr. Thomas has done so faithfully and excellently well for Philadelphia, New York, and the regions round about?

Whosoever reads this volume — and every clergymen in our ranks should read it — will see with what diligence, and patience, and varied and long-continued search the author has gleaned the historic fields around him, and gathered up the scattered "ears of corn," and bound them into this generous and fruit-laden sheaf. We are surprised to find how much material, entirely new to us, and probably to most of his readers, Mr. Thomas has collected from old books and newspapers, old manuscripts and hymn-books, old people, old attics, and odd corners, which he has explored in his persistent researches. And we know that he has recovered many books, pamphlets and memoranda belonging to the early preachers, of which we get only a glimpse in this volume, that will eventually find a resting place in our "Historical Library." At the same time, we are pained to learn from occasional allusions in this volume, and from conversation with the author, how much has perished from neglect; or been destroyed by those who were ignorant of its value, or who "cared for none of these things" — as in the case of David Evans, "a barrel full of whose pamphlets and manuscripts" went to destruction in this way.

One of the most attractive and informing features of this work is the brief sketches of the first preachers and missionaries of Universalism in this country; several of whom we hear of for the first time in these pages; the story also of congregations gathered and old meeting-houses" built in those early times: of ancient books, tracts, and religious journals published in the interests of our faith, the last being mostly of brief life — much of which in a little time longer would have died with the aged persons from whose lips the facts and traditions were noted down by the author when on his gleaning expeditions. As examples of this, and of the thoroughness with which Mr. Thomas has done his work, we point to chapter vi., with its memoranda of conventions, preachers, periodicals, hymn-books, sunday-

Scottish character. Perhaps the key to the character and successes of the Chambers brothers may be found in this sentence in the first number of the "Journal" which William founded, and raised to a circulation of 90,000: "I see the straight path of moral responsibility before me, and shall, by the blessing of God, adhere to the line of rectitude and duty." Let this volume have place in all our Sunday School libraries — let all the boys read it, and carefully ponder the story of these two Scotch lads.

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On[illegible]fort[illegible]es of this work is the b[illegible]ers [illegible]naries of Universalism[illegible] for the first time in the[illegible]athered and old meetin[illegible]ent books, tracts, and reli[illegible]ur faith, the last being n[illegible]ittle time longer would h[illegible]lips the facts and traditions [illegible] his gleaning expeditions. [illegible]ness with which Mr. Th[illegible]vi., with its memoranda [illegible]-books, sunday-

schools, and of the distinguished individuals whom he so quaintly and correctly calls "Good Helpers" — such as Franklin, Priestly, Espy, Dr. Rush, Dr. Shippen, and others; and to chapter viii., with its curious and pleasing narrative of "Alice Brown" and the "Old Meeting House"; and chapter xii., on the beginnings of Universalism in New York City.

We could fill pages of the *Quarterly* with extracts from this pleasing volume, but we prefer our readers should have it entire. It is marked by all the earnestness and fervor of feeling, the love of apostolic truth, and the peculiarities of thought and experience, which have always characterized the author. And many a paragraph shows that the sharp pen which he employed in the old controversial eras, has not lost its keen point.

11. *Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College.* By Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D. D. J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

An interesting sketch of a learned and worthy man who was driven from his office as President, after fourteen years of earnest, self-sacrificing and half-paid labor, because he differed from the ruling powers on the question of Baptism. The book gives us a true picture of the times, the manners and stern temper of those old Puritans who were determined to shut out all heresy from the State and the Church. But this was more than two hundred years ago. Dr. Chaplin sharply rebukes their intolerance, and regards their course as a greivous sin against the sweet charities of the gospel. But would he to-day tolerate a Unitarian or a Universalist as President of Brown University — especially if he felt himself called upon to interrupt the services in a Baptist Church to denounce the Trinity or Endless Punishment? It makes a wonderful difference when the bull gores the ox which of the animals we own.

12. *Saunterings.* By Charles D. Warner, author of "My Summer in the Garden." J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

Our readers will perhaps remember what we said of Mr. Warner's "Summer in the Garden." It was an exquisite piece of frolicsome humor; but it was a small book. Here, on the contrary, are nearly three hundred closely printed pages. It would be unreasonable to expect a man to keep up to that level through such a long travel. Still there are many most amusing sketches in the book, some delightful pictures of scenery, and frequent photographs of characters and manners, as in the "Price of Oranges," "The Story of Fiametta," "A Taste of Ultramontanism," etc. We can answer to the truth of his description of Sorrento and the bewitching influence it has over all who visit it. We have both sad and pleasing memories of the delicious spot.

13. *How the World was Peopled. Ethnological Lectures.* By Rev. Edward Fontaine, Professor of Theology and Natural Science, &c. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

To do full justice to this exceedingly interesting and instructive work would require many pages more than we can spare at the present time; but we begin by cordially recommending it alike to clergymen and laymen as one furnishing them with ample data for correcting many of the assumptions of "science falsely so called." The object sought by the author is to prove the harmony of the Bible and true science on the question of the origin and unity of the human race.

He starts with the proposition that all the various races, or types of manhood, are "descended from one original pair of parents." In the development of this text truth he reviews the Geological, Anatomical and Geographical arguments, and the argument from Disparity; and he has accumulated in these chapters much information from a great variety of sources, most of it from works not within reach of the common reader, and has made use of it in a way to give great strength to his argument, though occasionally his memory slips, or his reading is not of the latest editions. Following these chapters we have a Lecture on the question, "How America was peopled before its discovery by Columbus," and also a paper on "The Physical Geography of the Mississippi River," illustrated by several most helpful drawings; and while the first has a very direct bearing on the main subject, they both have a special interest and value of their own.

We have been greatly interested in the "Geological Argument," including Note iii. and Plates ii. x. xi. and xii. as furnishing such a complete refutation of the extravagant assumptions and school-boy logic of certain French and English geologists respecting the discoveries made in the valley of the Nile. We shall give our readers a portion of the Note whenever we can make room for it.

The "Anatomical Argument" and the "Argument from Disparity" are enriched by a collection of curious and valuable facts which, independent of the use he puts them to, cannot fail to interest the intelligent reader, and to show him how largely variety is the offspring of unity. The "Geographical Argument" embraces one of the most attractive historical sketches in the annals of our race. The reader may not accept all his inferences, but he will surely be instructed by his facts.

14. *Ancient America, in Notes on American Archæology.* By John D. Baldwin, A. M., author of Pre-Historic Nations. With Illustrations. Harper & Brothers. $2.

Our readers may not have so strong a liking for volumes of this sort, as we have; but no books are more attractive to us than those which treat of the antiquities of nations and races, when their authors are qualified both by ability and learning to discuss the various problems involved. Mr. Baldwin gives evidence that he is one of this

class; at any rate, we must acknowledge our obligation to him for a more comprehensive and satisfactory view of the American question, in all its branches, than we have ever had before.[1]

He begins with the Mound-Builders of the West and South, whom he pronounces a civilized people 2000 years before Columbus reached our shores, and his arguments to this point are certainly plausible, and not without weight. The plates illustrating the shape, geometrical proportions and character of these structures greatly help the reader to appreciate the force of his reasoning. Indeed, the illustrations throughout add greatly to the value of the book. His theory is that the Mound-Builders came up from the South, and are of the same race with the builders of the pyramids and temples of Mexico and Central America; ante-dating by ages the Indian races who came from Asia by the North-west, and who knew nothing of mining, pottery and various manufactures such as the mounds disclose, equaling in finish and beauty the finest specimens of Peruvian production. His account of the archæological remains of Mexico, Peru, and especially Central America, drawn from Stephens, Squier, Dupaix, and others, is a chapter of wonders and surprises; and it must be perfectly fascinating to those making here their first acquaintance with the astounding facts.

In his investigations touching the origin and antiquity of these ruins, and the civilization they represent, he discusses the various theories that assign them to the "Lost Tribes of Israel," the "Malays," the "Phœnicians," and to the people of "Atlantis;" and dismissing them all as insufficiently supported, he decides that they are aboriginal, in other words of unquestionably American origin, and not an importation from another continent. This view is strengthened by the position maintained by some eminent geologists and archæologists — that America is the oldest of the continents, and that civilization first appeared here, and the "Atlantis" theory is not without significance in this connection. If destitute of all foundation, it is certainly the most singular and inexplicable fiction on record.

We should be glad to quote page after page from this delightful book, but our readers will be better satisfied to read it entire. Those doing so will perhaps believe that ages before Columbus discovered America, ages before the Northmen landed on Cape Cod, the mer-

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chants of Tyre, the subjects of King Hiram the friend of Solomon, visited our continent, and traded in the busy ports of Yucatan and Central America. The following passage quoted from Diodorus Siculus is certainly curious and seems to compel belief of this sort:

"Over against Africa lies a very great Island, in the vast ocean, many days sail from Libya westward. The soil there is very fruitful, a great part thereof is mountainous, but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part, for it is watered by several navigable streams, and beautified by many gardens of pleasure planted with divers sorts of trees and abundance of orchards. The Phœnicians (Tyrians) having found out the coasts beyond the Pillars of Hercules, sailed along by the coast of Africa. One of their ships on a sudden was driven by a furious storm far off into the main ocean. After they had lain under this violent tempest many days, they at length arrived at this island."

15. *God-Man.* By L. T. Townsend, D. D., Professor in the School of Theology, Boston University. *Search and Manifestation.* Lee & Shepherd. $1.50.

The title of this work sufficiently reveals the character of its Theology. But we hope no one will be repelled by the words, for the book is very much more than its unfortunate title indicates. The author has unquestionably thoroughly studied his subject, and has gathered into his pages a great body of quotations from all classes of writers and thinkers; philosophers, historians, moralists, poets and lawgivers, ancient and modern. And these quotations are mostly well chosen, and tell with power and directness on the points to be proved; especially in the departments of Comparative Theology and the first part of Manifestation, as also in the Appendices. The chapter on Buddhism is, considering its necessary brevity, as intelligible and satisfactory in its statement of the leading features of this wonderful system as we have seen.

After an examination of heathen religions the author comes to the conclusion that they all contain some truth; in fact that the essential truths and precepts of Christianity "seem to be co-extensive with humanity, and as old as thought." But then these essential truths, according to Dr. Townsend, are substantially those of the orthodox sacrificial theology, and especially that of the God-Man, the church dogma of Atonement, etc.

But aside from the special argument for orthodoxy, the reader will find a rich collection of testimonies and evidences for the truth of the evangelical histories, which, though they might be marshalled more skilfully, will discover to him the strength of the foundation on which Christianity rests its claims as a divine revelation. And for this reason, as well as for its passages of Church history, in spite of its doctrinal errors, false logic, and mistaken inferences, we heartily commend the work as one likely to be very useful in these days of doubts and denials. It is written in a liberal and generous spirit, and frankly acknowledges the truth to be found in all religions, and the virtues possessed by men of all creeds and communions. We shall be glad to see the second volume, which is to be issued under the title of "Strife and Harmony."

16. *Pansies: for thoughts.* By Adeline D. F. Whitney, author of "Real Folks," "We Girls," &c. J. R. Osgood & Co. $1.50.

A handful of flowers as beautiful and sweet-scented as ever blossomed in our land. Heartily do we thank Mrs. Whitney for this fragrant offering to her friends. "Equinoctial" has for us the most grateful odor of them all. And as we cannot find room for it here, we shall beg a place for it in the columns of the "Universalist."

17. *Paul of Tarsus: An Inquiry into the Times and the Gospel of the Apostle of the Gentiles.* By A Graduate. Roberts Brothers. $1.50.

A book after the model of *Ecce Homo*, and marked by many of the characteristics of that remarkable work. The object of the author is to give us a picture of the apostolic age, as well as a sketch of the character and labors of the great apostle from the human side; and this he has certainly done with singular skill and exactness and picturesqueness. He is familiar with the literature and life of the period, and draws his material in part from these sources, and more largely from the Epistles of Paul, which he regards as unquestionably genuine, though simply human productions, without any claim to inspiration. It is plain that "a graduate" has studied these letters of Paul with equal intelligence and industry. Every page of his book shows the clear thinker and diligent student; and many who imagine they have exhausted the writings of Paul as regards his own thought and aim, and the life and opinions of his contemporaries, will find themselves newly informed on some important questions and events in his missionary career. Occasionally, however, we come upon a statement which shows that the author has not read the gospels as understandingly as the epistles; as on page 183, where he says the resurrection of the *body* "was affirmed by Christ generally" — but we may offset these, perhaps, with such statements as this: "If this conception (of Christ) be a myth, humanity is better in its myths than it is in its verities."

We advise our preachers and theological teachers to give this book a careful reading. Its sketches of the Jews, Judaism, Gnosticism, of the liberation of Christianity under the leadership of Paul, from the entanglements of Judaism, of the rites and usages of the early Christians, and of Paul's relations with the other apostles, are very instructive, and show the writer's thorough knowledge of his subject. He is not always right in his inferences, but he is always suggestive. He is not always original, but he shows many of the facts from such new points of view, that we feel much as when we see an old familiar landscape sketched from a new standpoint — it is the same locality, the same hills and valleys and villages, but seen from another side. Chapters vi. and vii. are excellent examples of the authors style and thought, of his close study and accurate learning, and show his warm admiration of the prince of the apostles.

Article XXI.

John Murray.

PART VII.

Of all the series of Mr. Murray's letters to Rev. Robert Redding, Truro, England, that now before us is the most remarkable. Mr. M. had written to Mr. R. of the trouble he had experienced from a division he feared in his society, on account of the preaching of young Mr. Ballou during his temporary absence. His letter, dated May 23d, 1799, appears in the *Quarterly* for April, 1871. The letter following we suppose to be in answer to Mr. Redding's reply. Mr. R. evidently intended to draw from Mr. Murray the fullest exposition of his theological system, and he certainly succeeded. In addition, we have a warm expression of his feelings in view of the Unitarianism which was spreading among his brethren. His judgment of those who thus differed from him was severe, and devoid of his usual charity. Something must be allowed, perhaps, for his disappointment. What we have called his Trinitarianism, and what he himself so calls, will be found not to answer the usual definition of that doctrine. It is pure Sabellianism; the Deity of Christ alone, who is Father, Word, or Holy Ghost, according to manifestation. We suspect that in this he would find more co-believers to-day than in his own time.

But let our venerable friend speak for himself. Though his charity, warm as it was, could not enfold a "Socinian," though some of his interpretations were fanciful, and must give way to reason and better knowledge, though parts of his system are impossible of reception, we yet recognize the golden vein of heavenly truth which opens to us, and rejoice in the light of which he was one of the means of transmission. We owe him gratitude for his labors and his fidelity and suffering in behalf of humanity.

This letter covers seven pages of foolscap. It has been dif-

Scottish character. Perhaps the key to the character and successes of the Chambers brothers may be found in this sentence in the first number of the "Journal" which William founded, and raised to a circulation of 90,000: "I see the straight path of moral responsibility before me, and shall, by the blessing of God, adhere to the line of rectitude and duty." Let this volume have place in all our Sunday School libraries — let all the boys read it, and carefully ponder the story of these two Scotch lads.

8 *Three Centuries of English Literature.* By Charles Duke Yonge. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1872. $2.00.

The author of this handsome volume is Regius Professor of Modern History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, Ireland. The three centuries here brought under review begin with Shakespear, of course, and reach down to the present day. The field is wide enough for a much more extended discussion than Professor Yonge has given it, but by a successful grouping of the various writers in their several classes, or departments of literature, he has succeeded in giving a comprehensive and very satisfactory view of the whole. His critical judgments seem candid and generally just, while the selections with which he illustrates the excellences of his authors are chosen with taste and skill. Such a volume cannot fail greatly to aid the young in their appreciation of English literature, as well as in directing them to the best authors in its various departments. His introduction is very good, with many excellent points. T. J. S.

9. *The History of Greece.* By Prof. Dr. Ernst Curtis. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, England. Revised after the last German edition, with an Index, by Prof. W. A. Packard, Ph. D. vol. III. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. $2.50.

We have already expressed an opinion regarding the great merits of this able and, as it seems to us, final, work on the history of Greece—final, not perhaps in all its jugdments, but in the exhaustive study of the original sources of information, and in the accumulation and use of materials. The present volume embraces the complete history of the Peloponessian War, the heroic and protracted struggle of poor, doomed Athens, and the final crushing out of her power by the combined forces of Sicily, Sparta and Thebes and the other Grecian States, encouraged and aided by Persian gold.

Besides the general history the reader will find much special information respecting the brilliant career of Alcibiades; to say nothing of the literary lights, as Pindar, Aristophanes, Æschylus, &c. The following is Prof. Curtis's judgment of Pericles:

"The greatness of Pericles essentially consists in his uniting in himself all the great and productive ideas of earlier times — ideas refined and regulated by him, and made to form one grand system; and the greatness of Athens, for which he worked to the last, without allowing either good or evil fortune to divert him from the pursuit, was no greatness imagined by him, no ideal formed out of philosophic theories, but the goal demanded by the past, a goal which Athens must reach or prove untrue to herself and her mission in history."

10. *A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New York, with Sketches of its History in Reading, Hightstown, Brooklyn, and elsewhere.* By Abel C. Thomas. pp. 350.

A book which we cordially welcome for its exceedingly interesting and valuable collection of facts respecting the early history of Universalism; and for the worthy example it furnishes to our elder clergy, who, we hope, will be influenced by it to gather up the fragments before the night comes on in which no man can work. How many entertaining, instructive and historically important incidents might be registered by Streeter, Palmer, Drew, Bates, Bain, Balch, Paige, Willis, Griffin, and others, which to the future historian will be as pictures of the times in which they lived; reflecting the spirit of the churches, the temper of the saints, the controversies and conflicts, the social ostracisms and domestic hindrances of the fathers — and which, if not gathered up and recorded now, will soon perish from the remembrance of man. Who of these aged laborers will do for the New England States, who among us will do for Boston and its vicinity, what Mr. Thomas has done so faithfully and excellently well for Philadelphia, New York, and the regions round about?

Whosoever reads this volume — and every clergymen in our ranks should read it — will see with what diligence, and patience, and varied and long-continued search the author has gleaned the historic fields around him, and gathered up the scattered "ears of corn," and bound them into this generous and fruit-laden sheaf. We are surprised to find how much material, entirely new to us, and probably to most of his readers, Mr. Thomas has collected from old books and newspapers, old manuscripts and hymn-books, old people, old attics, and odd corners, which he has explored in his persistent researches. And we know that he has recovered many books, pamphlets and memoranda belonging to the early preachers, of which we get only a glimpse in this volume, that will eventually find a resting place in our "Historical Library." At the same time, we are pained to learn from occasional allusions in this volume, and from conversation with the author, how much has perished from neglect; or been destroyed by those who were ignorant of its value, or who "cared for none of these things" — as in the case of David Evans, "a barrel full of whose pamphlets and manuscripts" went to destruction in this way.

One of the most attractive and informing features of this work is the brief sketches of the first preachers and missionaries of Universalism in this country; several of whom we hear of for the first time in these pages; the story also of congregations gathered and old meeting-houses" built in those early times: of ancient books, tracts, and religious journals published in the interests of our faith, the last being mostly of brief life — much of which in a little time longer would have died with the aged persons from whose lips the facts and traditions were noted down by the author when on his gleaning expeditions. As examples of this, and of the thoroughness with which Mr. Thomas has done his work, we point to chapter vi., with its memoranda of conventions, preachers, periodicals, hymn-books, sunday-

schools, and of the distinguished individuals whom he so quaintly and correctly calls "Good Helpers" — such as Franklin, Priestly, Espy, Dr. Rush, Dr. Shippen, and others; and to chapter viii., with its curious and pleasing narrative of "Alice Brown" and the "Old Meeting House"; and chapter xii., on the beginnings of Universalism in New York City.

We could fill pages of the *Quarterly* with extracts from this pleasing volume, but we prefer our readers should have it entire. It is marked by all the earnestness and fervor of feeling, the love of apostolic truth, and the peculiarities of thought and experience, which have always characterized the author. And many a paragraph shows that the sharp pen which he employed in the old controversial eras, has not lost its keen point.

11. *Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College.* By Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D. D. J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

An interesting sketch of a learned and worthy man who was driven from his office as President, after fourteen years of earnest, self-sacrificing and half-paid labor, because he differed from the ruling powers on the question of Baptism. The book gives us a true picture of the times, the manners and stern temper of those old Puritans who were determined to shut out all heresy from the State and the Church. But this was more than two hundred years ago. Dr. Chaplin sharply rebukes their intolerance, and regards their course as a greivous sin against the sweet charities of the gospel. But would he to-day tolerate a Unitarian or a Universalist as President of Brown University — especially if he felt himself called upon to interrupt the services in a Baptist Church to denounce the Trinity or Endless Punishment? It makes a wonderful difference when the bull gores the ox which of the animals we own.

12. *Saunterings.* By Charles D. Warner, author of "My Summer in the Garden." J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

Our readers will perhaps remember what we said of Mr. Warner's "Summer in the Garden." It was an exquisite piece of frolicsome humor; but it was a small book. Here, on the contrary, are nearly three hundred closely printed pages. It would be unreasonable to expect a man to keep up to that level through such a long travel. Still there are many most amusing sketches in the book, some delightful pictures of scenery, and frequent photographs of characters and manners, as in the "Price of Oranges," "The Story of Fiametta," "A Taste of Ultramontanism," etc. We can answer to the truth of his description of Sorrento and the bewitching influence it has over all who visit it. We have both sad and pleasing memories of the delicious spot.

13. *How the World was Peopled. Ethnological Lectures.* By Rev. Edward Fontaine, Professor of Theology and Natural Science, &c. D. Appleton & Co. $2.00.

To do full justice to this exceedingly interesting and instructive work would require many pages more than we can spare at the present time; but we begin by cordially recommending it alike to clergymen and laymen as one furnishing them with ample data for correcting many of the assumptions of "science falsely so called." The object sought by the author is to prove the harmony of the Bible and true science on the question of the origin and unity of the human race.

He starts with the proposition that all the various races, or types of manhood, are "descended from one original pair of parents." In the development of this text truth he reviews the Geological, Anatomical and Geographical arguments, and the argument from Disparity; and he has accumulated in these chapters much information from a great variety of sources, most of it from works not within reach of the common reader, and has made use of it in a way to give great strength to his argument, though occasionally his memory slips, or his reading is not of the latest editions. Following these chapters we have a Lecture on the question, "How America was peopled before its discovery by Columbus," and also a paper on "The Physical Geography of the Mississippi River," illustrated by several most helpful drawings; and while the first has a very direct bearing on the main subject, they both have a special interest and value of their own.

We have been greatly interested in the "Geological Argument," including Note iii. and Plates ii. x. xi. and xii. as furnishing such a complete refutation of the extravagant assumptions and school-boy logic of certain French and English geologists respecting the discoveries made in the valley of the Nile. We shall give our readers a portion of the Note whenever we can make room for it.

The "Anatomical Argument" and the "Argument from Disparity" are enriched by a collection of curious and valuable facts which, independent of the use he puts them to, cannot fail to interest the intelligent reader, and to show him how largely variety is the offspring of unity. The "Geographical Argument" embraces one of the most attractive historical sketches in the annals of our race. The reader may not accept all his inferences, but he will surely be instructed by his facts.

14. *Ancient America, in Notes on American Archæology.* By John D. Baldwin, A. M., author of Pre-Historic Nations. With Illustrations. Harper & Brothers. $2.

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This letter covers seven pages of foolscap. It has been dif-

ficult of transcription, not on account of "bad" writing, but of its minuteness. Its copiousness is an evidence both of the warmth of Mr. M.'s friendship for his correspondent and of his zeal in behalf of what he deemed the truth of the Gospel.

XXIII.

BOSTON, MAY 29th., 1800.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, I will not attempt to give you any idea of my feelings, on looking once more over a letter from you. I conclude, however, that you can form some idea of them by your own. I bless God for my friend; and I bless God for this mode of holding converse with him, since I can have no other. This is a blessed substitute, poor as I am in using it. I am glad you have had my letters. They have told you the truth when they told you that I felt grateful to our Father, and to those of his children he has been pleased to make use of to contribute to my comfort, as I go down the vale of life. You still remain, and I encourage hope you will remain a member of this distempered state as long as I shall. This, however, is no very strong evidence of my affection for you. It is of my affection for myself, and for your dear connections. Yet I cannot help rejoicing with my whole heart when I think in how little a time we shall be placed together in our Father's house. Eternal praises be to him who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep we should live together with him! We shall *live*, because he died. We shall live *together*, not separate. We shall live together with him who loved us and gave himself for us. Transporting thought! how delightful our sensations while dwelling thereon! Often while contemplating on this state, and the society found there, I feel impatient to be gone. I sometimes loath life, and would not live alway. But it is good that we both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of God. It is true, and I should be most ungrateful if I did not own it, that no one of God's inheritance is more indebted to his goodness and mercy than myself. But I have the plague of the heart, and frequently groan, being burdened therewith. I long to put off this house of my earthly tabernacle; not that I wish to be unclothed, but clothed upon with my house which is from heaven. My house I now live in is a poor

> "Old tenement, so battered and decayed
> New light comes in through chinks which time has made."

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. . . . . I still see my Cornwall friends as I saw them the last time; and a pleasing view it is. I shall keep this view of them till I meet them at home. They will there appear still better. . . .

. . I feel for you sincerely on the loss of your charming daughter. O what are we that we should mourn when daughters are called from earth to heaven? I am astonished at myself when my little daughter is sick, to feel myself so much a slave to fear that she is going to her eternal rest. I find, on these occasions, I love myself better than I love my child.

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You observe that friends are dying, and friendships changing. But there is one Friend, who will die no more, and whose friendship never changes. And as man, like the tender vine, supported lives, when what used to support us is taken away, we naturally look round for another prop to lean upon; and, if we have been taught of God, we then return to our rest, and resolve to come up the residue of our journey from this wilderness leaning on the Beloved. If we are enabled to execute this resolve, we can then experimentally say: "It was good for us that we were afflicted." I do not recollect a single instance in the Book of God of any of God's people in prosperity crying unto the Lord. But in adversity, in affliction, in trouble, how many! The fact is, we never turn to our stronghold till we are driven out of every other; and then—never thank us—and yet even then our gracious Father receives us without upbraiding, blots out our manifold offences, and remembers our sins no more. There are some of God's children will forgive, but they will not forget. They will not cast the offences behind their backs. They will keep them in full view. Eternal praises to Him whose ways are not as our ways; who forgives and forgets, and casts all our sins behind his back; who is not only good unto the good and to the thankful, but also unto the evil, and unto the unthankful; who has not only compassion on them that are in, but on them that are out of the way; and who, well knowing that no man can know the things of God but by his own spirit's teaching, has compassion on the ignorant, and will ultimately lead them by the way that they have not known.

I am, my brother, free to write you all my mind. There are many of my brethren who, I am persuaded, could not bear this. I would not willingly offend the weakest of my Father's children. There have been much hatred and malice discover-

able among professors on account of a disagreement in opinion, and the most zealous have generally been the most mischievous. This is not now the fashion. Men of different sentiments now value themselves on agreeing to differ. Indeed, it has been to me, for many years, matter of astonishment that men should be so much opposed to each other, and so nearly alike. I have sometimes wondered what they differed about. They all appear to have the same sentiments of the Deity. They all seem to think he is no better than a publican, and nothing near as good as themselves. They all agree that he loves his friends, and *only* loves his friends, and hates his enemies; that he is good unto the good, and evil unto the evil; that the righteous are the objects of his affection, and the subjects of his grace; that sinners are the object of his hate, and the subjects of his wrath. When I have seen them, therefore, with wrath and bitterness biting and striving to devour one another, I have been ready to say to them what Moses said to his brethren on a certain occasion: "Sirs, why do ye thus? Are ye not brethren?" But if I had, I ought to have expected no other treatment than he met with. But there is one thing to be observed, which it is but justice to mention, that if they differ from each other, they, each of them, differ nearly as much from themselves. This I am confident of. In the writings and preaching of all I have seen and heard, there are as palpable contradictions as between any two of them; and I have seen that the sum and substance of all is, God will, and he will not; man can, and he cannot. "I shall," said a preacher some time since, "consider my subject in the following order: 1. We have a great work to do; 2. We have but little time to do it in; and 3, we can do nothing." This must be admitted. The old Calvinistic doctrine brought over by our first settlers is universally exploded. A Mr. Bodily who came from England some time since observed to me that he could find nothing of it even among its professors. The prevailing doctrine everywhere now taught is, that Jesus died for all, and his death has put mankind in the same condition they were in before the Fall; that the wages of sin is death, but the offer of God is everlasting life, through obedience and faith. Some indeed place faith first, and value themselves much on this distinction, though they both agree that each is essential to giving the death of Christ any part in the salvation of any sinner; and though there are many shades of difference in their private opinions, yet I know none of them who give any ground to

believe that they believe what Abraham did, or what all God's holy prophets from the beginning of the world preached. Instead of believing that all the families of the earth will be blessed in the seed, which is Christ, I do not find any who appear to have an idea of any family of the earth being blessed in the *seed*. They seem, indeed, to have some idea of some favored individuals being blessed *by*, or *through*, the seed, but not *in* him; and those who are blessed by him must in the first instance help themselves.

My invaluable friend professes himself a believer with Jacob, with Paul, and with Christ Jesus. I have not the smallest doubt of your believing many things in common with each of those characters. But suffer me, my much loved friend, one or two particulars to mention, where our Baptist minister and Pool did not agree with our Master and Paul. First, our Master declared himself the Light of the world; the Owner of all that the Father had, and the Keeper of all that he owned; and with respect to them who could not believe this, he said, "If any man hear my word, aud believe it not, I judge him not, for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." I could go on in a very great variety of instances, to point out the disagreement between them and our Divine Master. But this is a letter. Allow me now to mention a few instances in which Paul and Pool differed. Paul said, "As by the offence of one judgement came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men to justification of life. Moreover, the law entered, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." And with respect to the non-elect Jews, who were shut up in darkness and consequent unbelief, "God," saith Paul, "hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. For the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and turn away ungodliness from Jacob, and so all Israel shall be saved." He will bring in his ancient people, the Jews, with the fulness of the Gentiles. He is the Saviour of all men, to be testified in due time. In one word, Paul believed that Jesus was the Saviour of all men, and grace abounded more than sin. Pool believed that Jesus was not the Saviour of all men, and that sin abounded more than grace; and of course that there would be many more made miserable through all eternity in consequence of sin, than would be made happy in consequence of grace. So, I am

persuaded, he who was a murderer from the beginning would wish to have it. But so, I bless God, whose thoughts from everlasting were thoughts of grace, and not of evil, He will not have it. Should you ask how I can be sure of that, I answer, I had it from his own mouth. He declared by his Spirit unto me, that he willed "that all men should be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth." This truth they shall all know; for it is written, "They shall be all taught of God."

There never was anything more evincive of the power, and injurious effects of education, than appears in the mistakes men have run into respecting the figurative expressions *sheep*, and *goats*. A person acquainted with the language of Revelation, and uninfluenced by a corrupt education, must know that *sheep* is the figure by which *all human nature* is represented: "*all we* like *sheep* have gone astray;" and that *goats* was the figure by which the fallen angels, who also kept not their first estate, were represented. These angels are reserved unto the judgement of the great day. No: Jesus did not lay down his life for the goats. He passed by the nature of angels, and was made in the likeness of sinful flesh. But though he did not lay down his life for the goats, he died for the sins of the world, and by the grace of God tasted death for every man.

God's people, we are told, sacrificed unto devils: Deut. xxxii. 17; Psalm cvi. 37. The learned commentators assure us that the Hebrew word rendered devil signified goats, probably because, as Herodotus, Strabo, and others note, the Egyptians worshipped goats, and many of the heathen idols were made in that form. Now as the learned know that this figure represented the fallen angelic nature among the people of the Jews to whom our Saviour spoke, why have they not more generally let the people know it? They would by this means preserve the consistency of Revelation. Mankind deceived in this respect can never see the truth of the Gospel preached unto Abraham. They cannot believe that all the families of the earth can be blessed *in* the seed, if that very seed cursed the greater part of them *out* of him. But viewing this subject in God's own light, all the testimonies of God are yea and amen, to the glory of the Father. As there are but two subjects of the judgment, angels and men, and as the one was in the garden pronounced *cursed*, as doer of the deed that involved our nature in ruin, and as he is still the evil-worker, the deceiver of the nations, and as the truth preached unto Abraham could never be fulfilled, except a final separation is accomplished between the deceivers and the deceived, the

tempter and the tempted, the evil-worker and the hearts in whom he works, — when the Saviour of all men brings his matters to a close *he* makes the separation ; he separates the one from the other as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. He addresses himself properly to both : to the children of men once blessed in Adam before the Fall, again blessed in the second Adam in coming to seek and to save them from the ruins of the Fall, sent by the Father to bless every one of us by turning us from all iniquity. To the redeemed, blessed in this bruiser of the serpent's head, he says, Come, ye blessed of my Father, enter into the kingdom prepared for you before the world was. It was prepared for them, but the adversary intended they should never enjoy it, and he thought he had succeeded. But the Redeemer was stronger than this strong man armed, and could lead captivity captive and receive gifts for men, yea, even for the rebellious, that God may dwell among them. They shall now, delivered from the devil and all his works, be brought into the kingdom prepared for them ; and thus saved, they will be as pure as when they in Adam first came out of the hand of God. The kingdoms of the world shall then be the kingdom of God and of Christ.

I am astonished to find my very much loved friend carried away by the general vulgar error respecting the word *all :* more so, to hear him say, "It is not taken for every individual but in a few places, and never when redemption is spoken of." I presume you will admit we have redemption in the Beloved, and in no other. But God so loved the world he gave them his Son ; and he gave *his* life a ransome for all, and became the Propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He died once for all. Redemption, Mr. Cruden, in his "Concordance," tells us, signifies deliverance both from the guilt and power of sin, and is taken for the whole work of a sinner's salvation, comprehending all things that belong to it. Heb. ix. 12. This being the case, when our Saviour came to seek and to save that which was lost, it is clear that he came to be the complete Saviour of the world — of *all men*, both from the guilt and power of sin. If it should be said, This does not appear, inasmuch as we see many who are sinners, under its guilt and power, I answer, there are none who are not sinners, because, as yet, the works of the Devil are not destroyed. But the just shall live by faith, and not by sight. We endure as seeing what is invisible. We know that he is faithful that has promised ; that all shall know God, whom to know is life eternal ; that the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord ;

that they shall be all taught of God; that they shall be all righteous; that death shall be swallowed up of victory; that there shall be no more pain; that death and hell shall deliver up their dead; and that death and hell shall be destroyed. "All is not taken for every individual but in a few places": but should it be taken for every individual in but *one* place, and that one place was dictated by the Spirit of God, I think I ought to believe it.

But though *all* should in no one place mean all, yet we must believe that *every one* means all. Now it is expressly declared that Jesus by the grace of God tasted death for *every man*: but why? Because every man had sinned and come short of God's glory; and Divine truth had declared, the soul that sinned should die. For every sining soul, then, Christ died, and, as consequent on one dying for all, all were considered as dead, and that according to law. Mercy and Truth in his death met together: Mercy, in his dying as every man's head, in every man's place, for every man's sins; Truth in the sentence being executed on every man in him, and Jew and Gentile being reconciled in one body on the cross. And when he was lifted up from the earth all men were drawn unto him, signifying what death he should die, namely, the death of all men, as he died *once for all*. Here Righteousness and Peace embraced each other. Here Jesus is the Saviour of all men, according to law. In no other way does it appear he can be, as in this way, the Saviour of *any* man.

But I have said enough, and, perhaps, more than enough on this subject. Those who cannot believe are generally more uneasy when hearing the *boundless* love and grace of God, than they would be in hearing of anything else. — I thank you, my loved friend. I am persuaded you rejoiced with me in hearing my troubles had subsided in my church. This was another proof of your sincere, tender friendship for me, and this is and must be very pleasing to me. You acknowledge yourself an enemy to the Socinian error; but what is their error? Is it not principally denying the divinity of our Saviour? And who is there that believes there is no God but Immanuel — no God beside the Saviour? But you say, "You, my brother, should not have been so much displeased with him (this Socinian), if the Socinians with you are, as they are with us, Universalists." Were you not, my much loved friend, a little mischievous when you penned this line? O, you cunning creature! you were very sly in this place. Here you thought you struck me a staggering blow.. Did you not smile when you were

writing this line? I did, when I read it. But, my dear friend you have missed it; for though the Socinians in this country are the same they are on your side of the water, I am not pleased with them. For, with respect to all who are saved, you profess they are saved in the way of the Lord; and though you deny that the Lord has bought all, because he would not, or could not, you do not deny the Lord that bought some of us. But this sort of Universalists are worse than the Jews. The Jews believed that the Christ they expected would be something more than man. These believe he was the real son of Joseph and Mary, and that his life and his death never saved any one. No, my dear friend, I am not pleased with any man, because he is a Universalist, if he is not a Universalist on Christian principles. I believe in this our day Universalism is very prevalent in the world, but there are very few who believe it on Christian principles. There are in this country several sorts of Universalists: Some believe in it negatively, and some positively. Some believe there will be no future suffering, because they do not believe in a future state. These are modern Sadducees. Some believe there will be no future suffering because God was never displeased. How is it possible he could be, say they, when he does all himself? He can therefore have no account against any man. Therefore they have nothing to pay. A third sort believe there is a debt to pay, but the benevolence of the Deity will not suffer him to exact it. These, you see, have some idea of Mercy sacrificing Truth. They pay no regard to the declaration made in the law and the prophets, and have no idea of the benevolence of the Deity being exercised in a way where all his Divine perfections meet. God is too good to punish men forever. This is all *their* hope, and all their expectation. A fourth sort of Universalists believe the debt due immense, and must be paid by every debtor in his own person; and that every man may be enabled thus to do, Jesus Christ came into our world. I really never could find out what end his coming into the world answered. These, however, talk much of Christ, and seem to feel under very great obligations; though I once observed to Mr. Winchester, that his plan of universal salvation would do full as well without Jesus Christ as with him. They believe that every man that dies in debt — another word for dying in their sin, or dying sinners, or being sinners as long as they live, — every such character must be cast into prison, out of which they never can come till they have paid the uttermost farthing. But the uttermost farthing they shall

assuredly pay, and then, on a principle of strict justice, shall be saved, or, in other words, be eternally happy. In this plan, you see, "every tub stands on its own bottom." Every one pays his own debt. A fifth sort of Universalists believe that all have sinned, and all in many things offend; and every offence is death. They conceive of this death as a spiritual death, and properly belonging to the soul. They therefore often mention that text,—"The soul that sinneth shall die." They hold that the law is holy, pure, and good, and was made to be obeyed, and because man, being weak, could not, Jesus was made under it; and that he came to fulfil it; and that he *did* fulfil every jot and tittle of it, both in its penal and preceptive parts; that in doing this he finished the transgression, made an end of sin, and brought in everlasting righteousness; that he was made under the law for every one that was under it, and therefore redeemed every one from its curse, being made a curse for them; that in this way he, as a Saviour, magnified the law and made it honorable; that in this way he is the Saviour of the world according to law; that in this way Justice is satisfied, Mercy is fully gratified, Truth is established, Righteousness, everlasting righteousness, brought in. And this righteousness of God being unto all, and on all them that believe, there being no difference in God's sight. God is the just God, in being the Saviour of all men. But these believe that this truth of God must be known and believed, before the saved soul will ever be holy or happy; and this they confidently expect because God has promised that the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and the face of the covering be taken from all people; and they shall all know God, whom to know is life eternal, from the least unto the greatest. These things, however, which make for the peace of the sinful world, in *this* their day is hid from their eyes. But they look forward to the day of the Lord, when whatsoever is hid shall be made manifest: that then there will not be an unbeliever in the whole family of man. Then these people believe that God, having taken the human nature into union with himself, in that nature doing and suffering all that belonged to both these natures, and that in the character of the second Adam, or the head of every man; that he has completely defeated the subtle adversary, and turned the tables on the foe, and saved the lost nature in himself with an everlasting salvation. These Universalists, believing there is no God but Immanuel — God with us — even God the Saviour, of whom the prophet Isaiah spoke when the Lord by him said, I am God the Saviour, and

beside me there is no other: believing this, they can see nothing but salvation in God.

These are Universalists of the same description with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all God's holy prophets from the beginning of the world. Now, as Priestly does not believe that Jesus Christ is God, he cannot believe him a Saviour, and, indeed, he does not. And as *I* believe he is the only wise God our Saviour, I know no other God to believe in or depend upon. I am, therefore, myself, a Trinitarian and a Unitarian; believing in but one God over all, the Saviour of all men, blessing and blessed forevermore, in whom the fulness of the Deity bodily dwelt, and in whose humanity, as the second Adam, dwelt all the fulness of the human nature. And he spake by the prophet when he said, I am God the Saviour, and beside me there is no God. This is the joy of my heart and my abiding consolation.

No, my friend, I am not pleased with any salvation beside the salvation of God. Indeed, there is none other. I am not pleased with any plan beside God's own plan. I am persuaded that this will abide forever; and, persuaded of this, I am not afraid of this Priestley, nor of him that sent him. God is above the Devil.

I am beyond doubt on this subject. I do not stagger at the promises. I am persuaded of his faithfulness that has promised. I am convinced of the all-sufficiency of his will and power. I am persuaded all the Scriptures are yea and amen in this, to the glory of the Father. I have no prejudice in favor of any man because he holds a particular sentiment, except he has a "thus saith the Lord" for what he holds. I cannot view Doctor Priestley in the Christian character. I consider him and his adherents as enemies of the Cross of Christ. I think more favorably of professed Deists. I have more respect for an open foe, than for a treacherous friend. An open enemy will do me less injury than a deceitful friend. I think, as a people, we are rather unfortunate in this man's coming to us. His politics and religion are both detestable. Yet our Democrats and mongrel Christians admire him. But even this man sometimes speaks the truth. So did our Adversary, who sent him here. On the whole, I am not afraid of this man, because I believe what he cannot believe: that the Saviour he thinks so meanly of, is Lord and God, and has all power in heaven and on earth, and will perform all his pleasure in despite of the Devil and his deceived Doctor, and I have the pleasure to believe that this poor, vain man will one day be ashamed and

confounded for all that he has said against his Law-giver, his Judge, and his Saviour. Till this blessed period, no more of this Doctor Priestley.

I turn from this disgusting subject, to one most pleasing: to my affectionate friend, whose kind reply to the queries I ventured to propose I consider as condescendingly obliging. I am delighted with your heavenly view of heaven. You are quite right in considering heaven as consisting in the state of the mind. When the mind is filled with God, there is heaven. I felicitate my favored friend on the foretaste our heavenly Father gave him of this expected bliss; and that, on so seasonable an occasion. The time is fast approaching when we shall not see through a glass darkly. We shall know as we are known. Then, indeed the "harmony of the Divine perfections" will appear. We shall not then see mercy and justice opposing each other, nor any one attribute of the Deity wounding the others. We shall then see all the perfections of the Deity harmonizing in the Saviour — the fulness of both natures. Our idea of God is, that he is a Spirit; but as we can have no idea of a spirit alone, he has been pleased to manifest himself in the *flesh* in the seed of Abraham; and to men and angels out of this seed, God must be forever unknown. Thus God manifest in the flesh is the only wise God our Saviour. One of our Saviour's disciples asked him to show the Father: "Show us," said Philip, "the Father, and it sufficeth us." "Have I," said the Saviour, "been so long with thee, Philip, and hast thou not known me? The Father and I are one." If I was near my friend, and I should say, "Show me your soul, and it will suffice me:" you would reply, "Why, my friend, have I been so long accquainted with you, and have you not yet known me? Did you suppose my soul was a distinct person from myself? It is my soul that has looked at you through my eyes. It is my soul that has heard you through my ears. My soul and body make but one friend." Thus Immanuel is God with us. "The Lord," saith our apostle, "is that spirit," and this Lord is Lord of all. And I know that all things are of him. And this God is love; not made loving, but Love: like the sun, not lightened, but Light; not like the moon, shining in borrowed lustre. And this love is perfect. It thinketh no evil. This perfect love casteth out fear. Who can be afraid, that knows God? "Acquaint now thyself with God, and be at peace." The Lord is *good*. "There appeared such a harmony of the Divine perfections, the character of all which was goodness." Yes, it was goodness, and

good without evil; light without darkness; life without death; sweet water without bitter. Our God is one. This is the joy of my heart, and my abiding consolation. Yes, my friend, "all the perfections of the Deity are modifications of love:" of love, unbounded, perfect love; for "God is Love." And this God is the Father of the spirits of all flesh. God made man in his own image, and for himself. "What is the chief end of man? To glorify God, and to enjoy him forever:" so once taught our teachers. And as we are told that God made man in his own image, we are to inquire whether this image was not made to give a just idea of the God it was intended to represent, as far as the creature was made capable of understanding it. In this image, we see the Three in One: the body, the soul, and the spirit. The body is of the earth, earthy, and is, in this character, much inferior to the soul. The soul is the thinking, contriving, hoping, fearing, joying, sorrowing, inexplicable being that dwells in the body, and is as much superior to the body, as the heaven is to the earth. The spirit is the inexplicable part of the man, which unites the soul and body together; and when the body returns to the dust, this spirit adheres to the soul, and of course ascendeth, instead of descending, as the beast does. Now as these three constitute but one man, so, Father, Word, and Spirit constitute but one God, — the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and as I never could have known anything of your soul, had I never seen your body, or rather had it never been *in* your body, so I never could have been able to form any idea of God, or the Divinity, had it never dwelt in the Humanity. This is the Trinity in Unity. God did not make three persons, as the image of himself; but he made a trinity in one person, as the image of himself. Hence said the prophet, "To us a child is born; to us a son is given: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The everlasting Father, The mighty God, The Prince of Peace." But again, the image of God thus made had in himself the woman that was to be called his wife; and it was while she lay hid in him, that God spake to both in one; he blessed both in one; he gave the law to both in one. And when the woman came forth from the side of her husband, he said, "She is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." Thus the human nature was in Immanuel, and grace was given us *in* him before the world was.

But, again, the man was not deceived, but the woman was. The man, however, put himself into the condition of the deceived wife, though he knew death would be the certain con-

sequence. So the Maker, the *Husband* of the man, was not deceived; but he put himself into the condition of the deceived wife, and was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, though he knew death, the accursed death, would be the certain consequence. That all this love and wisdom of God displayed in this figure might be made manifest God made the creature subject unto vanity. And here is the love of God made known. The love of the creature may be made known in what he would do and suffer for a *good* man; "but God commended his love toward us in that while we were sinners" he died for us. God might have prevented the adversary from beguiling our general mother, but in that case, though man was a rational creature, he never would have known anything of a Saviour, nor would the purposes of God, purposed in himself before the world was, have been accomplished. There is none by searching can find out the ways of God, for they are in the great deep; but though we cannot find God and his ways to perfection, seeing they are as much above our ways as the heavens are above the earth, yet he hath in great mercy assured us, that all his ways are mercy and truth; that all his ways are pleasantness and all his paths are peace. Yes, man was made a rational creature, but he is now a drunken creature. He has drunk of the wine of fornication, and is mad; but still, like drunk and mad men, they fancy themselves wise. Vain man would be wise, though born like the wild ass's colt. But this is all the work of the adversary. "Because," saith the faithful Creator, speaking to this adversary, "because thou hast done this, thou art cursed." This accursed doer of the deed that has brought a temporary ruin on the offspring of God, has, by permission, the address to make the children of men believe that it is the *human* nature which he intended to destroy that God will pronounce the curse on, and that shall forever be, by their Creator, doomed to suffer its consequences. He goes farther, though he himself knows he shall reign but a little while: he has made God's children believe his reign shall be eternal; and though he shall not fully succeed in the ruin and death of the *whole* of the human race, according to his first intention, yet he shall come very near it. He shall have many more to triumph in the eternal destruction of, than he that made them shall have to triumph in the salvation of.

If what we hear men, ay, religious men say, be true, we may expect hereafter to hear the insulting foe of God and man say: "I have gained my point. I have counteracted the designs of my enemy. I find I am able to keep my captives.

He has done all he could, even to giving his life for their ransom; but where he has saved one by all that he could do and suffer, I have destroyed a thousand. He sent out his prophets, indeed, to declare that all the families of the earth should in the woman's seed be blessed; that all the ends of the earth should remember and turn to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should come and worship before him. He sent them to declare that the Lamb of God should take away the sin of the world, and thereby be the Saviour of the world, of all men; and that the kingdoms of the world should be the kingdom of God; and that all nations and kindreds should serve him; and — I was very much afraid it would be so — he sent his prophets out to tell them that all things would be restored; and from the beginning of the world they testified of the restitution of all things. And he that sat on the throne said, 'Behold I make all things new; and there shall be no more pain, nor death, nor sorrow, nor crying.' Nay, they went on so far as to declare that *I myself* should be destroyed, and that, not by any exertion of strength, but merely by the breath of his mouth, and by the brightness of his coming. But I had my prophets also; and they had much more success than his. My prophets declared the reverse of all this, and gained credit everywhere. And now we see who were the true prophets. I by my prophets opposed with great success righteousness to righteousness, and Scripture to Scripture. My spirit was with my prophets, and had the address to make even them believe it was the Spirit of God operating upon them. When the prophets he sent forth spoke of the greatness of the Saviour's love, and the universality of his grace, my prophets made the people believe that nothing could be farther from the truth. But what pleased me most of all was, the proving his testimony *false* by *himself*. When his prophets would tell the people of his *boundless* mercy, and of his exceeding grace, my prophets would prove from his *own word*, that his mercy was bounded, and was not equal to the offence: therefore all that was said on that subject could not be true. But the master-stroke of my policy was to persuade the people to believe that what was said of *me* and my *angels*, was said of the families of the earth. The moment I gained my point in thus persuading them, I knew the day was my own; and making them believe that the *goats* represented *their* nature, and not *mine*, I was sure they could not believe the Gospel preached unto Abraham. 'How is it possible,' they would then say, 'that *all* the families of the earth can be blessed in him, when

he himself curses so many *out* of him ?' They were then convinced that the testimony of all God's holy prophets could not be true. Thus I made them believe that the glad tidings unto all people could intend only a few. I was so successful in this way, that amongst the few who considered themselves believers, and in *this* character *children* of *Abraham*, not one in a thousand believed what Abraham did; and now their doom is fixed. I find I was right. I confess it is more than I myself expected, for though I did all in my power to prevent mankind from believing the Gospel preached unto Abraham, I believed it myself, and trembled in the dread of being defeated. And when the Seed came, I thought then my torment and defeat would have been completed; and I ventured to ask him, 'Art thou come to torment me before the time? I was terrified when he sent me from my dwelling among the tombs, and greatly mortified to be reduced to the necessity of asking his permission to dwell in a herd of swine. But I now find that I myself was deceived in him, and that my prophets were true; and that after all his plan and mine perfectly coincide, with respect to the much greater part of his offspring. And who could have thought it?" I say something of this sort would be the language of the grand adversary, should it terminate as we have been taught. And, indeed, sometime since, we had a respectable clergyman in one of our meetings in this town, who, preaching against your humble servant, in the close of his discourse said, in so many plain words, "O my hearers, how can you without horror reflect on the last day, when the nations will be divided on either side of the Judge: on one side we see the *little* flock, with their Prince at their head; on the other we see the innumerable multitudes, with their prince at their head. Their prince will then in that day look down with contempt on the Prince of peace, and say, 'You a King? The glory of a king is in the multitude of his subjects; but where you have one, I have a thousand. You talk of being a Prince and a Saviour: where you as a Prince have saved one, I have destroyed thousands.' Thus will this adversary triumph over Jesus Christ on that day, O, sinners, will you not come, and add one more to the little flock for the honor of the Saviour?" The people were pleased with this; and if the Devil could be pleased, so would he be.

But I have not so learned Christ. I believe him the complete, unequivocal Saviour of all men; the true promised Seed in whom, as God is true, all the families of the earth shall be blessed; the true Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the

world; the true Bread of God that came down from heaven to give life to the world; the true Propitiation for the sins of the whole world; the complete Destroyer of the Devil and all his works; the true Heir of all things; the Owner of all; the Possessor of all, for whom all things were made, and in whom the Divine nature was, reconciling all things unto himself, — reconciling the world unto himself, — not imputing unto them their trespasses; who, when all like sheep had gone astray laid on the second Adam the iniquities of us all, that he, as the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world, may put them away by the sacrifice of himself.

Thus believing, I have entered into rest. Thus believing, I can pray for all men in faith, nothing doubting. Should you, my valued friend, find in thus believing I differ from you, I I am persuaded you will not feel the less affection for me. But should you, it will be my consolation to know that our Father will not. He will never be offended with me for believing *all* the gracious words that he has spoken, and for setting my seal to the truth thereof. For me, who am persuaded of the unbounded love of God, and that no man can know the things of God, but by the spirit of God, *I* never can think the worse of you for differing from me. I am persuaded you do the best that in your power lies. In thus doing you do well. You act nobly. Angels could no more. Should you think destructions eternal, and I think destructions shall come unto a final end, we must wait for the day of the Lord. This will reveal it.

I am charmed with your letter. You there speak like yourself, and of our Saviour as you are wont to do. O, had you never had any teaching beside the teaching of that Spirit which takes of the things of God and shows them, you never could have supposed he would have left any of the lost unfound, or the dead unquickened.

You are right, my brother, in saying that Jesus is the sum of all. He is, indeed. He is all of God. In him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. He is all of the humanity, for he is Adam, and in him all fulness dwells. Talk we of sin, he was made sin for us. He bore all our sins in his own body on the tree. He bore, that he might put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. Talk we of righteousness, we say of Immanuel, "Thou only art righteous." Talk we of holiness, "Thou only art holy." Talk we of goodness, "There is none good but one, that is, God," — the only wise God, our Saviour. Talk we of light, he only is the true Light, which lightens

every man that cometh into the world. "Let," saith the Lord, "thine eye be single, and thy whole body shall be full of light." Every member of the body is light in the eye, and this eye is in the head. I would have you know that the Head of every man is Christ; as much as, in the order of nature, the man is the head of the woman, or the Divine the head of the human nature in Christ. O, he is, indeed, the sum of all. Whom have we in heaven but him, and what is there on earth desirable beside him?

Yes, the types all point to him. I never was so fully persuaded of this as since I have gone on in a regular manner in the Old Testament. I have now got as far as the ninth of Numbers. O how much of my Saviour have I seen in these books! Yes: the promises are all in him yea, and in him amen. To Abraham and his Seed were the promises made, because as to the promises are generally annexed conditions, and none beside him was ever able to perform the conditions, that the law may not be against the promises, they were all made to him, but to him in his public character as every man's head. And O,transporting thought! it is this Saviour who is to be our Judge! All judgment is committed unto him, because he is the Son of man. Yes,it is the Saviour of all men who is to be the Judge of quick and dead. It was well for the children of Jacob that their judge in the court of Pharaoh was their brother, notwithstanding the treatment they gave him. It is well for Jew and Gentile that he in whom Jew and Gentile were reconciled in one body on the cross shall have the disposal of them when he fills the throne. But when he fills the throne as Judge, the books must be opened, and every man must be judged according to the things written in the books. They shall be judged according to the things done in the body. Of course, every mouth must be stopped, and all the world stand guilty before God. "We are," said the brethren of Joseph, "verily guilty of our brother's blood." Their brother heard them say this; but he did not then say, "You are mistaken: I am your brother." No: he left them for some time to their own reflections, that they might feel their condition, and be abundantly more sensible of the obligations they should be under to him, when he did for them what from the moment he saw them he intended to do for them, in his own time and way.

Yes, all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Saviour, and all that hear shall live. Yes, the prince of the world was judged, and the angels who kept not their first estate

are reserved unto the judgment of the great day. Know ye not that we shall judge angels? And then shall that wicked be destroyed by the breath of our Saviour's mouth, and by the brightness of his coming. The dead in Christ shall rise first. There are but two characters among the children of men: those who, having by faith put on the Lord Jesus, and continued to walk in him, and so finished their course with joy, lay them down in peace, and rise to the resurrection of salvation, and having judged themselves, will not be judged, according to the word of the Saviour, "Judge yourselves, and ye shall not be judged;" and those who, not believing, because not knowing that Jesus died for their sins, lay them down in sorrow, and rise to the resurrection of condemnation. Our translators would rather call it damnation. Though they knew there was no such phrase in the Bible, they thought it would sound better. But you know there is no such phrase in the New Testament. They shall rise to the resurrection of condemnation, and in consequence of their ignorance and unbelief, they shall conceive of wrath in the Lamb, and, thus conceiving, shall call to the mountains to fall upon them to hide them. But there will be another book opened, — *the book of life*, and then the face of the covering being taken from all people, and the veil from all nations, every eye shall see what this blessed book contains. And then every tongue will confess *the truth*; and then every creature in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, and in the sea, yea, *all* of them, shall ascribe blessing, and honor, and glory to Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. And there shall be no more sorrow, nor crying, nor pain; all old things shall pass away, and shall become new. Then shall the tables be turned on the adversary, and, like Haman, the death he intended for Mordecai he must himself submit unto. In the Revelation (xix. 17) we find an invitation to all the fowls to come to the supper of the great God, to eat the flesh of kings, &c. The devil is the prince and power of the air. Our Saviour informed his disciples that the birds of the air that caught away the seed sown by the wayside were the devil. And the last vial was poured in the air. These fowls called to the last supper — supper is the last meal in the day — must eat the *flesh* of kings, &c. Now this is that flesh, the works of which are manifest, and which cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven, because that nothing that defileth enters there.

But to this blessed truth in figure accords another very significant figure, which my much loved friend, according to

the course of this world, has made so gross a mistake in: I mean the scape-goat, to whom were transferred the sins of all Israel. This goat, with all the abominations of all the people, was sent into a land not inhabited, and there both goat and iniquities were *lost*; and the Jewish doctors observe that there never was an instance known in the history of that people, of one of these goats being found again. When the iniquities of Jacob are sought for, they shall not be found. We had once in this country a poor well-meaning man, who, having taken up an idea that Christ was all, frequently in his preaching made him the devil and all, applying to him what was by the Spirit of God applied to the devil: whereas they are contrasted quite through the Bible. But this figure of the *lost* goat will not apply to our Saviour in any sort. He was not in his death separate from the people; for they, as his fulness, being crucified with him, were buried with him, and in his resurrection rose with him. He was not sent into a land *not inhabited*: he went and preached to the spirits in prison who were sometimes disobedient in the days of Noah. He was not *lost*, for he appeared the second time, without sin unto salvation. He was seen of many after his return from the dead. Thus, my dearly beloved friend, we find this a very significant figure of the separation from the people of the devil and all his works, as the last act on the day of atonement; and as the atonement is another word for making us holy, as nothing will so effectually do this as taking away the adversary and everything that originated with him, this is called an atonement.

Thus, my greatly valued friend, have I, in my plain familiar manner, given you, according to your obliging request, my thoughts on these interesting subjects. In thus doing, I have indeed given you my hope, and some of my reasons for my hope. But I have not found my reasons in human reasonings. I have given you no traditionary testimonies, nor dared to offer you my own *ipse dixit*. I have only mentioned a very few of the many explanatory passages I could produce, had I time and room. One thing for your consolation I must mention, if you will excuse me this once for saying so much: I promise you I will never offend in this way again. I would give you pleasure, not pain. I am afraid I have missed my object. I doubt whether you will be able to find out what I have written. I have but very little time for writing, — none for copying. My paper is bad; my hand trembles; I am not well. Mrs. Murray has been very ill, — is now much better. My little girl is well. I have much to be thankful for. My

God is very good to me, a miserable sinner. Mrs. Murray wishes me to present her kind regards to you, and your dear Mrs. Redding. I wonder you do not write to her. You would have a better return than you can ever expect from

your very affectionate friend
and devoted servant,
JOHN MURRAY.

In looking over this scrawl, I am really astonished to find how badly it is written. You never will be able to make it out. I ought to give up writing. I am determined I will; yet you will be the last correspondent I shall give up, while you continue to indulge me with your epistolary proofs of your affection. God forever bless you and yours!

ARTICLE XXII.

The Genesis of Science.

PART III.

THE modern age of free inquiry, then, begins under very different conditions from those which so trammeled the investigations of antiquity. When Mediævalism perished, it bequeathed to the intellects of Europe certain convictions which were entirely alien from the prevailing tendencies of classical thought. Among these convictions is the idealistic faith in the harmony, symmetry and unity of the universe, — a belief which is so finely expressed in the saying of Plotinus that "Nature is the sleeping Logos." Out of this has sprung that poetic love of Nature, that rapt enthusiasm for her beauties, which everywhere animates our modern thought and which is so strangely lacking in the poetry and art of ancient Greece.[84] Second among these convictions is the belief in Natural Kinds —a belief of which sensationalism can give no rational account,[85] but which is directly derivative from the idealistic

[84] Mediævalism and Nature: *Universalist Quarterly*, January, 1872, page 79, et seq.

doctrine, that before the phenomenal group there was an eternal idea of which each individual of the class is a sensible manifestation. But greatest of all the contributions of idealism to modern thought, is the scientific conception of law as opposed to an empirical rule founded merely upon the succession of phenomena. In that conception lives the soul of ancient realism, stripped of its verbiage and its logical subtleties. For what is the scientific law but the true universal hidden from human observation, but existent in the bosom of God? What for instance, is the law of gravitation but an eternal idea displaying its varied manifestation in every part of the universe — an inscrutable unity by which the falling of a stone and the revolution of the earth in its orbit are made one in origin and nature?

And to the influence of these conceptions of Nature and Law must be ascribed the modern success in physical research. In no other respect can we claim pre-eminence over the ancients; in the spirit of criticism in the restless desire of knowledge, in capacity of intellect or power of abstract thought, no one would dare to assert their inferiority. Only through this idealistic substratum underlying our modern thoughts, are we differenced from them. Without it, our researches would have ended as theirs did, in vague abstractions and empirical rules; with it we have attained to the perfect method of scientific induction.

The root of that inductive process lies in the search for a principle by which the phenomena may be really explained. The every-day philosophy of the vulgar establishes its laws merely upon the succession of phenomena; it explains any given event simply by referring it to an empirical rule which is only a general statement of that and other similar events.

[35] For instance Mill *(Logic* 1. 7. *etc.)* can find no distinction between a Natural Kind and an artificial group except that in the first case the differences are innumerable, and in the second they are not. Concerning which, we say simply that it is not true as a matter of fact. The *number* of differences depends only upon *the complexity of organization*. There are more differences between two individuals of the one human species, than between the members of two different grand divisions of the sub-kingdom Radiata.

Scientific idealism insists, upon the other hand, that nothing is explained, no law is established, until a principle be found, *of so determinate an unity*, that from it the phenomena may be rigidly deduced. It was of no avail, for instance, that experience had for ages observed constant sequences between the lunar phenomena and the changes of the tides; no induction was framed until it was proven that these sequences could be legitimately deduced from the principle of gravitation. Out of the vast number of empirical rules which the vulgar maintain concerning the influence of the moon upon terrestrial events, this one has thus been erected into a scientific law. And whenever a true induction is made, it is founded upon this principle, modified at times, as we shall see hereafter, but always essentially the same. Everywhere in true research, the principle reigns that the law or universal is a determinate unity, from which the phenomena have been evolved with mathematical exactitude in nature, and can therefore be rigidly deduced by the intellect.

But this, the idealistic element, is but one-half the inductive process. For if induction consisted only in the discovery of some principle from which the phenomena could be deduced, then the acutest investigator of nature would be the one who could invent the most ingenious hypotheses, and the realm of science would become a wilder dream-land than that of poetry. Against this danger, science guards by clinging to that element of truth which underlies the sensational philosophy. It insists that principles are not to be invented by the intellect but to be derived from the data of sensation. It proclaims the great truth which Newton had in view, when he somewhat obscurely announced, that in the investigation of Nature we are to assume not hypotheses, but "true causes".[36] In other words, no cause is to be assumed in order to account for phenomena, unless in some one case at least, its action may be so

[36] Whewell (*Philosophy Inductive Sciences, Vol. 2, p. 292*, et seq,) has confessed his inability to understand the Newtonian distinction between hypotheses and "*veræ causæ*." He has failed, therefore, to grasp one-half of the inductive process, and hence the one-sidedness and superficiality of his theory.

disengaged from all other causation, that we can directly behold its immediate and undoubted operation. This rule constitutes the second great canon of the inductive process, to which every induction must conform or else be relegated to the realm of fanciful hypothesis. The theory of gravitation, for instance, although accounting for all astronomical phenomena, would fall short of scientific certainty, unless in the falling of a body through a vacuum to the earth, we could directly behold the operation of that principle disengaged from all other influences. In chemistry, again, the theory of phlogiston was only a figment of the fancy: oxygenation, upon the other hand is a "true cause," whose operation, disengaged from all other influences, may be directly beheld by chemical experiment. In optics, also, the theory of undulations still trembles in the balance of certainty, because it does not as yet completely fulfil the second requisition of the inductive process.

Such, then, is the method of true induction. Its law is compounded of two maxims — the one demanding that a principle be found from which the observed sequence of phenomena may be rigidly deduced — the other, that no principles shall be assumed except true causes, the single and independent operation of which can be exhibited by operation or experiment. Induction, then, is a two-fold process, each of whose parts is a check upon the other; by the due combination of both, modern research is guarded from the danger of crude empiricism upon the one hand, and from that of exaggerated idealism upon the other.

Furthermore, it is seen that this two-fold process has had a two-fold origin. The one element is the fruit of those idealistic convictions which departing Mediævalism bequeathed to Europe; the other is rooted in that experiential or Hellenic tendency which for the last three centuries has been gradually taking possession of the thought of Christendom. Science, then, is not the child of one system of thought. The experiential philosophy has been in the habit of claiming its exclusive parentage, but before the light of our analysis, such a

claim will not stand for a single moment. Modern empiricism would have remained as utterly sterile as did that of ancient Greece, if it had not been for her alliance with the spirit of idealism. Although in her ignorance she may affect to despise her consort, still the stubborn fact remains. Science is the legitimate off-spring of the union between these two inharmonious spirits, thoroughly effected by the development of Christian civilization, for the first time in the history of the human race.[87]

We believe this to be the true genesis of modern science. And it only remains for us, now, to verify our law by a survey, as minute as our space will permit, of the advances which have been made in the different branches of physical research.

PART IV.

At the commencement of this brief survey of scientific progress, we can well afford to pause for a moment before the name of Bacon. For the obscurity which has heretofore enveloped his work, giving rise to so much doubt and discussion as to the nature and value of his achievments, is entirely dispelled in the light of what has been now advanced. To Bacon belongs the signal honor of having framed a theory of induction which grasps, in a vague, unconscious way, at least, both elements of the scientific process. The great exponent of modern experimentalism was separated from the empiricism of antiquity by those idealistic convictions which the expiring scholasticism had instilled into his thought, as well as in that of all Europe. In their experiential tendencies, he and the Stagyrite were one; it was the latent idealism, lying at the base of his thought, that caused him to revolt against the Aristotelian methods of physical research. Indeed, that idealism becomes something more than latent when he recognizes the Platonic method as strictly affiliated with his own, or when he teaches that the ideas in the Divine Mind are the type and

[87] We have said nothing of the Arabians because their services to science are now quite well understood. Sprengel has well expressed the mission of Arabic scholarship in a single sentence. "Die gottliche Vorsehung hatte dies Volk zum *Verhalter* der Wissenschaften in finstern Mittelalter bestimmt," (*Geschichte der Botanik*, I—202.)

exemplars of created objects as they exist in nature.[38] Nor is there a more lucid epitome of the ideal theory than his emphatic recognition, that things differ from their forms or laws, "only as the apparent from the actual, or as that which is considered in relation to man from that which is considered in relation to the universe."[39] The same tendency is still more plainly evinced in the examples of his method which he has given; for it must be remembered that Bacon left the exposition of his theory incomplete, and hastened on to show its practical working in what he conceived to be examples of true scientific research. In fact, the root of that ignoble failure in the actual investigation of nature, which contrasts so strangely with Bacon's fame as the founder of inductive philosophy, lies in the undue preponderance of the idealistic element in his physical studies. While professing to make experience the basis of his method, yet in practice he constantly violates the second, or experiential law of the inductive process; the principles which he assumes to account for phenomena are hypothesis, not *veræ causæ*.[40] But whatever may be his defects in practice, it must be admitted that in theory he gained a far more profound conception of the inductive process, than the most of his admirers have been able to attain. His method is not the empiricism of the Greeks or of the vast majority of the self-styled Baconians. Appearing as the herald of a new experimental era, he yet does not cast aside those counter-convictions, without which experience flies off into the infinite space of empirical generalities. Thereby he becomes the real representative of the nascent spirit of science, whose complex nature he has at least vaguely comprehended.

[38] *Nov. Organum, Lib.* 1, *aph.* 23.

[39] Ibid, Lib. 2, aph. 13.

[40] A notable instance of this is presented in the physiological researches contained in the History of Life and Death (Bacon's Works, Vol. 3.) His fundamental principle [illegible]erein is the hypothesis of an animal spirit, a gaseous substance somewhat resem[illegible] flame, by the movements of which, the vital phenomena are produced. He in[illegible]n, at the existence of such a spirit is a datum of sensation, inasmuch as it is ne[illegible]al *inferred* from a multitude of observed facts. But the true cause is not inferred; [illegible] must be disengaged from all other influences, and thus, as it were, di-

But turning to contemplate the actual advance of physical research, we begin with that science wherein is realized the highest type of inductive certainty yet attained. The progress of astronomy, while it clearly displays the two-fold nature of the inductive process, especially testifies to the importance of the idealistic element; it affords a notable illustration of the utter futility of empirical observation, without the regulating influence of a higher principle. The Pre-Copernican astronomy had been content, for the most part, with the artificial grouping of the celestial phenomena, according to certain resemblances attested by universal experience. These groups contained no real principle of unity, and therefore from them, nothing could be rigidly deduced or truly explained. The Ptolemaic theory of the universe, which is the perfection of empirical astronomy, affords not one solitary explanation of celestial phenomena; it is useful only, as presenting before the imagination a rude panorama of the heavenly motions. As we have seen, some little progress, toward higher conceptions was made in the schools of idealism. But the astronomical studies of the Pythagoreans, the Platonists and the Alexandrians resulted only in those vague anticipations and feeble advances with which the most gigantic intellect must be content, when striving to stem that mighty current which constitutes the spirit of the age.[41] At last, however, a new era of free inquiry begins. And now a few discoveries, standing amid the dawning light of the new era, and yet not too far removed from the idealistic influences of Mediævalism, were enabled in almost a single century to solve those grand problems of the universe, which for eight hundred years had baffled the marvelous genius of antiquity. First of all, stands Copernicus, who, guided by certain idealistic convictions concerning the symmetry of the universe and the harmony of the celestial motions,[42] and deeply pondering over the labors of the Pytha-

[41] Ideler (*Verhaltniss, Copernicus*, u. s. w.) speaks contemptuously of the Pythagorean astronomy as a dream, &c. But that dream was the first sign of the awakening of men from the heavy slumber of empiricism. It denied the immobility of the earth, and in every way opposed the vulgar faith in mere appearances.

[42] Humboldt. *Cosmos. Vol.* 2, *p.* 308.

exemplars of created objects as they exist in nature.[38] Nor is there a more lucid epitome of the ideal theory than his emphatic recognition, that things differ from their forms or laws, "only as the apparent from the actual, or as that which is considered in relation to man from that which is considered in relation to the universe."[39] The same tendency is still more plainly evinced in the examples of his method which he has given; for it must be remembered that Bacon left the exposition of his theory incomplete, and hastened on to show its practical working in what he conceived to be examples of true scientific research. In fact, the root of that ignoble failure in the actual investigation of nature, which contrasts so strangely with Bacon's fame as the founder of inductive philosophy, lies in the undue preponderance of the idealistic element in his physical studies. While professing to make experience the basis of his method, yet in practice he constantly violates the second, or experiential law of the inductive process; the principles which he assumes to account for phenomena are hypothesis, not *verœ causœ*.[40] But whatever may be his defects in practice, it must be admitted that in theory he gained a far more profound conception of the inductive process, than the most of his admirers have been able to attain. His method is not the empiricism of the Greeks or of the vast majority of the self-styled Baconians. Appearing as the herald of a new experimental era, he yet does not cast aside those counter-convictions, without which experience flies off into the infinite space of empirical generalities. Thereby he becomes the real representative of the nascent spirit of science, whose complex nature he has at least vaguely comprehended.

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[39] Ibid, Lib. 2, aph. 13.

[40] A notable instance of this is presented in the physiological researches contained in the History of Life and Death (Bacon's Works, Vol. 3.) His fundamental principle therein is the hypothesis of an animal spirit, a gaseous substance somewhat resembling flame, by the movements of which, the vital phenomena are produced. He insists that the existence of such a spirit is a datum of sensation, inasmuch as it is necessarily *inferred* from a multitude of observed facts. But the true cause is not inferred; its operation must be disengaged from all other influences, and thus, as it were, directly observed.

But turning to contemplate the actual advance of physical research, we begin with that science wherein is realized the highest type of inductive certainty yet attained. The progress of astronomy, while it clearly displays the two-fold nature of the inductive process, especially testifies to the importance of the idealistic element; it affords a notable illustration of the utter futility of empirical observation, without the regulating influence of a higher principle. The Pre-Copernican astronomy had been content, for the most part, with the artificial grouping of the celestial phenomena, according to certain resemblances attested by universal experience. These groups contained no real principle of unity, and therefore from them, nothing could be rigidly deduced or truly explained. The Ptolemaic theory of the universe, which is the perfection of empirical astronomy, affords not one solitary explanation of celestial phenomena; it is useful only, as presenting before the imagination a rude panorama of the heavenly motions. As we have seen, some little progress, toward higher conceptions was made in the schools of idealism. But the astronomical studies of the Pythagoreans, the Platonists and the Alexandrians resulted only in those vague anticipations and feeble advances with which the most gigantic intellect must be content, when striving to stem that mighty current which constitutes the spirit of the age.[41] At last, however, a new era of free inquiry begins. And now a few discoveries, standing amid the dawning light of the new era, and yet not too far removed from the idealistic influences of Mediævalism, were enabled in almost a single century to solve those grand problems of the universe, which for eight hundred years had baffled the marvelous genius of antiquity. First of all, stands Copernicus, who, guided by certain idealistic convictions concerning the symmetry of the universe and the harmony of the celestial motions,[42] and deeply pondering over the labors of the Pytha-

[41] Ideler (*Verhaltniss, Copernicus*, u. s. w.) speaks contemptuously of the Pythagorean astronomy as a dream, &c. But that dream was the first sign of the awakening of men from the heavy slumber of empiricism. It denied the immobility of the earth, and in every way opposed the vulgar faith in mere appearances.

[42] Humboldt. *Cosmos. Vol.* 2, *p.* 308.

goreans, was finally enabled to proclaim the true astronomical system.[43] Kepler, whose idealism reaches to the very verge of mysticism, continues this career of discovery. Aristotle had been content to laboriously classify the celestial phenomena into fifty-five distinct motions, each dependent upon its own essential principle; Kepler, animated through a long life-time of study by those very convictions which had seemed so fantastic and visionary to the Stagyrite,[44] at last succeeded in reducing the complicated movements of the heavens to a single motion, governed by mathematical laws of the utmost simplicity. In notable contrast with the triumph of Kepler, stands the failure of Tycho Brahe, who in the power of patient and skilful observation surpassed all his cotemporaries, but who, owing to the undue preponderance of the empirical element, succeeded only in heading a retrograde movement and in collecting a mass of material which the idealism of Kepler elaborated into laws. Last of all, in the great tri-umvirate of discovery, comes Newton, completing the labors of his predecessors and perfecting the science of astronomy. His famous generalization, as we have already seen, presents a perfect type of the two-fold inductive process, bringing out each of its elements with equal clearness. The Newtonian discovery not only constitutes the greatest advance yet made in the study of Nature, but it also reveals the pathway which all subsequent progress is forced to pursue.

The mechanical ideas of the ancients were marked by the

[43] Copernicus not only avowed his obligation to the Pythagoreans, but he expressly designates the Aristotelian doctrines concerning motion and gravity as the chief obstacles in the way of his theory. His struggles to evade doctrines which in that age it would have been rash to deny, are peculiarly interesting. (Vide *De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium. Lib.* 1, *Cp.* 7. and 8.)

[44] Förster, (*Kepler und die Harmonie der Sphären*, p. 4.) speaks with just contempt of the shallowness of Whewell and others who speak of Kepler's success having been achieved *in spite* of his intense idealism. On the other hand, says Förster: "Aus der Tiefe seines Idealismus heraus gestaltet sich sein astronomische Forschung, aus ihr sog die unsagliche Muhe seines ganzen leiderfüllen Lebens ihre Kraft und Belohnung; aus ihr entwickelten sich endlich die klaren strengen Formen seiner drei Gesetze. See to the same effect, Dr. Frisch in his edition of Kelper, "*nam per haec studia immortalem suam tertiam legem invenit quæ proportiones illas simplicissime exprimit et Newtonii de gravitatione doctrinæ quasi fundamentum putanda est.*" *Kepler, Opera*, VIII, 1017.

same fatal defect as their astronomical conceptions. The ultimate generalization of Greek mechanics was the arbitrary grouping of motions into two classes — motions in accordance with and those contrary to the ordinary course of nature. The final explanation of any phenomenon, when stripped of all subtleties, consisted in the placing of it under one or the other of these arbitrary groups. The decreasing velocity of a projectile was explained by the assertion that it was a violent motion or one opposed to the course of nature, and therefore always tending to come to an end; the increasing velocity of a falling body, upon the other hand, was explained by the fact that it was the natural, and therefore constantly growing motion of a body toward its own place. No other solution was given, nor even demanded;[45] for to the thorough empiricist, what more profound explanation of a phenomenon can be given than that it is in accordance with universal experience and the uniform course of nature? Out of this vicious circle of reasoning, mechanical science was finally rescued by the influence of those idealistic convictions which underly the free, inquiring spirit of the seventeenth century. Under that influence, Descartes, Galileo, and others sought to resolve into some principle of unity those mere uniformities of succession which the Greeks had been content to regard as the ultimate laws of nature. In the light of such an investigation, certain empirical conclusions were finally overthrown, and it then became an easy task to establish those almost axiomatic principles from which the most complicated phenomena of motion can be mathematically deduced. We wonder at the apparent simplicity of these long undiscovered principles, but, in fact, they are so directly opposed to the results of common observation, that only an intense idealism could have dragged them from their original obscurity. Indeed, Descartes, like Kepler, was led by his idealism to essay the impossible; like the great

[45] Matter, *Histoire de l' ecole d' Alexandrie*, *II*, 64) intimates that the Aristotelian solutions do not represent the highest mechanical knowledge of that age. Undoubtedly the Platonic school had gained better conceptions. But the treatises of Aristotle precisely represent the prevalent empircism of his age, applied to mechanics. Kepler also speaks of Aristotle as "*rerum mathematicorum imperitus.*" (*Opera* I, 252.)

astronomer, he vainly attempted to derive the elementary principles which he had discovered from still more fundamental conceptions concerning the unity and simplicity of Nature.

In the progress of chemistry the same order of evolution is exhibited. The empiric belief in the elementary simplicity of the earth, air, fire and water, was so deeply grounded into the thought of antiquity that men were hardly permitted to dream of truer conceptions. At the same time, the numerical speculations of the Pythagoreans present an admirable foreshadowing of what is as yet the highest induction of chemistry, the Daltonian law of proportions. Plato's attempted analysis of the elements into geometrical forms may also be said to constitute a step in the right direction. But it was reserved for the alchemists — an order of men entirely unknown to classical antiquity [46] — to make the first positive advance towards the formation of chemical science. Nor are their contributions to be measured by the actual discoveries, important as they were, which were made in the prosecution of alchemistic researches. The theory of the three principles, which they substituted for the ancient doctrine of the four elements, sheds the first ray of light upon the chemical constitution of inorganic bodies. For by this analysis, rude as it was, they thoroughly undermined the old belief in the elementary simplicity of earth, air, fire and water; and thus by the removal of this great stumbling-block, they led the way to that chemical progress, which ever since has been going on so steadily. To the teachings of Paracelsus, stripped of all their mystical conceits and verbiage, the first school of true chemistry traces its origin.[47]

A second era of advance is marked by the promulgation of the phlogistic theory. Its advent, Van Helmont, celebrated in the ranks of idealistic philosophy as well as of science, had rendered possible, by his grand discovery of the heterogeneity of gases long supposed to be identical.[48] And Becher, to whom,

[46] *Kopp (Beitrage zur Geschichte der Chemise*, p. 30.)

[47] *Sprengel. (Geschichte, Arzneykunde*, III, p. 547.)

[48] *Ibid.* IV. p. 301.

far more than to Stahl, the authorship of the phlogistic theory is due, was directly connected with the schools of alchemy.[49] The advance in chemistry, made through the promulgation of this theory, can hardly be over-estimated. The phenomnea of acidification, combustion and respiration have no outward resemblance, belong essentially to three different grades of being, and to merely empirical observation must always have seemed utterly diverse in their character. But these apparently diverse phenomena, stretching over the entire range of material existence, the phlogistic theory gathered into a real unity and thus rendered a most important service to chemical science. The induction, however, was a faulty one, inasmuch as it failed to comply with the second requisition of the two-fold inductive process; it fulfilled the idealistic law by presenting a principle from which many of the most important of chemical phenomena were accurately deduced, but it did not establish the real existence in nature of the principle which it assumed. The doctrine was useful only as a provisional hypothesis, under the guidance of which chemical research might proceed until a true induction was framed. But at last oxygen was discovered, and the process of oxygenation so disengaged from all other chemical operations by the medium of experiment, as to permit direct observation of its nature. Then from this disengaged principle, the given phenomena in their most varied and intricate forms were rigidly deduced; and thus the two requisitions of the inductive process being complied with, the scientific theory of combustion was finally established. By the framing of this induction and that of atomic proportions, the science of chemistry was built upon firm foundations. Since then, its researches have been rightfully committed, for the most part, into the hands of mere observers and experimentalists, whose mission it is, to elaborate what has already been created. Nevertheless the immense accumulation of details which has thus resulted, now calls loudly for the labor of some true idealist and discoverer who shall arrange this disorganized

[49] *Figuier. L' Alchimie.* p. 85.

mass of material under some comprehensive induction and thereby carry the science of chemistry to a still higher stage of unity and of certainty.

Physiological science is so evidently in the infancy of its development, that it would be wise, perhaps, to forbear all notice of its progress. Nevertheless it is well to remember that the first advance of pathological research,—which is to physiology as experiment to observation,—is to be ascribed to the genius of Hippocrates, who deserted the ancient or empirical school of medicine and followed in his investigations the guidance of the Pythagorean doctrine. His theory of coction and crisis or of the autocracy of nature, satisfies only the idealistic law of the inductive process; it is a provisional hypothesis not a complete induction. Nevertheless the Hippocratic doctrine, imperfect as it is, has ever since remained the basis of medical research.[50] The second advance of physiological science was effected by the discovery of the circulation of the blood, in which Harvey presented an admirable type of the two-fold inductive process. A true cause of the simplest kind—the motion of fluids—is assumed and from that simple conception are deduced the varied phenomena which for so many ages had been observed but not understood.[51] Since the days of Harvey, physiology has advanced with feeble and uncertain steps. And evidently the phenomena of animal life are of so subtile and complicated a nature, that they can never be reduced to scientific order except by an inductive genius which shall combine the profoundest idealism with the highest powers of observation and experiment.[52]

[50] *Renouard. History Medicine.* p. 128: 346, 476, et al.

[51] Harvey, it is true, was thoroughly imbued with the experimental spirit, then first beginning to make itself felt. But his method is the exact reverse of the ancient empiricism. As his editor remarks, he uses only facts well known to his anatomical teachers and contemporaries; his discovery consisted in the finding of a principle by which these well-known facts were properly co-ordinated and explained. And so in his endeavor to clear away the contradictions in Aristotle's doctrine of universals, and in his remarks upon the scientific and Platonic idea, he shows the spirit of the true scientist, seeking to harmonize his experimental principles with an underlying element of idealism. (Vide, *De Gen Anim, Praef.*)

[52] We may remark here, that we have been forced by lack of space, to omit all mention of the various sciences, included under the general name of Physics. We can

In the classificatory sciences, the inductive process is modified, although without departing from its fundamental principles. According to the law heretofore announced, no class could be scientifically established, until some principle of unity was found from which the specific differences of that class could be fairly deduced. But so numerous are the factors which enter into the complicated phenomena of vegetable and animal life, and so minute are the shades of difference which separate natural Kinds, that the labor becomes, perhaps for all time, an impossible one. The search for final causes or for conditions of existence which necessitate the form of the organism, has been therefore virtually abandoned; although the doctrine as a provisional hypothesis, in the hands of Cuvier and others, has rendered immense service in the rescuing of scientific classification from the grasp of a crude empiricism. But scientific idealism, in surrendering this for the present untenable position, has not deserted the field of Natural History; it has simply changed its field of battle. In the place of the doctrine of final causes, it has substituted the closely affiliated conception of ideal types. It insists that of each true Kind there is an archetypal idea, manifested in every member of the class and constituting a principle of unity by which they are bound together in a natural and necessary connexion. Scientific classification, then, is something more than an empirical grouping of things which resemble each other in certain of their attributes; it is a profound search for that typical idea around which all the essential characteristics of the class arrange themselves, through the action of some unknown and mysterious law. This conception, in some shape or other, has ruled all recent attempts at scientific classification; even the

only note, among the many facts corroborative of our theory of induction, the following; — The commencement of electrical science under the labors of Gilbert, who attempted to revive the idealism of Xenophanes (*Bacon. Interpretation of Nature.* Works, Vol. 1, p. 427.) — the foundation of dioptrics by the discoveries of Descartes — the establishment by Black, employing only the idealistic element of the inductive method (Vide *Buckle's History Civilization.* Vol. II, p. 390, et seq), of the law of the indestructibility of heat, which not only laid the foundations of thermological science, but furnished a clue to that still higher induction concerning the inter-changeability of forces, towards which scientific research is so clearly pointing.

sensational philosophies seek to recognize it, although in a form emasculated and robbed of its real virtue.

Wherever such a method of classification has been followed, its value has been fully vindicated by the results attained. A notable instance thereof, is presented in the researches of Owen and others, founded upon the conception of an ideal exemplar—a vertebral archetype variously manifesting itself in the different organisms of the vertebrate kingdom. In fact, Zoological classification has already made a great advance since the days in which it was left, by Aristotle, an ill-digested and disorderly mass of doubtful details.[53] The constant tendency is to arrange the almost numberless species of the animal kingdom around a few simple types of life—perhaps a single one.[54] Much remains to be done. But still we have every reason to hope that Zoology will before long become a true science, with a classification, marked by the most ideal simplicity and strictly following the order of nature.

The same law holds in the study of the vegetable kingdom. From the days of Dioscorides botanists have been groping after a scientific division of Kinds, which shall perfectly correspond with the system of nature. Their efforts have not yet been crowned with success, our botanical classes being still established, for the most part, by the mere grouping of resemblances, arbitarily selected. Nevertheless all true scientifie research, here as elsewhere, seeks for a classification which shall assign one simple archetypal idea to every Kind of the vegetable

[53] Spix (*Gesch. Syst. Zoologie*, p. 57.) has noted such an advance even in Mediæval Zoology. "Sieht man auch gleichwohl das mit der neuen Zeitrechnung des Christlichen, wie alles, auch die Zoologie gleichsam von neuem Keimte wird sich in Armuth langsam wie aus einem Ruckfalle, emporhebet, so kann man doch nicht verkennen *das man in diesem Zeit mehr nach innerer Ordnung strebte als es in der des Aristotles und Plinius geschah.* Freilich konute es, da der Genius dieser Zeiten blos auf die Ausbildung der neuen Religion conzentirt, und die Natur fur der Naturforcher blos aus Sagen aud Handschriften gekannt war, nur bei diesem Streben verbleiben, und erst kunftigen Zeiten ist es vorbehalten, diesen strebenden Keim zur volkommenen Pflanze zu entfalten." This exactly expresses the Mediæval work and its limitations.

[54] Even Comte, the great prophet of modern empiricism, is willing to found zoologic classification upon so idealistic a conception as that of symmetry! (*vide Positive Philosophy.* Vol. 1, p. 421.)

kingdom.[55] Indeed, it would almost seem that the dreams of Plato concerning the relation of the phenomenal to the ideal, were becoming the ultimate problems of modern science, towards the solution of which we are hastening with no feeble nor uncertain strides.

Geological science being, for the most part, historical and descriptive in its aims, would seem to require of its investigators only habits of close and accurate observation. Here, at least, the scientific method of the experimental philosophy would seem sufficient for all demands. And yet in reality, nothing better illustrates our law that all true inductive research is based upon an idealistic sub-stratum of thought, than the history of geognostic doctrines.

Geognostic research at the very outset of its career found itself confronted by an obstacle, for the removal of which the labors of a century were barely sufficient. That obstacle was the doctrine of the casual and the spontaneous. The theory of universal causation cannot logically spring from a mere observation of particulars; and as a matter of fact it has never been recognized by the empirical philosophy, except by those modern schools which during the last two centuries have been compelled to yield so much to the idealism of science. To Aristotle and to Greek sensationalism in general, the great mass of phenomena seemed of merely fortuitous origin. The invariable and the necessary were for the most part confined to the sphere of the heavens; on earth, they were exhibited only at rare intervals, and the wide gaps were filled up with a crowd of phenomena[56] which had no law but accident and no

[55] Dr. Lindley (*Vegetable Kingdom*, p. XXIX.) gives this as the maxim of botanic research. "*Singula sphaera (sectio) ideam quandam exponit, indeque ejus character notione simplici optime exprimitur.*

[56] According to Aristotle (*Physic Ausc.* viii.: 9,) the heavenly motions are more perfect than the earthly. Ascending motion is more perfect than descending; (*De Coelo II*, 5, 2.) consequently the warm element is more noble than the cold. Hence upon the amount of heat in animals depends the perfection of their generation, (*De Gen. Anim. II.* 2.) And so a continually descending scale of perfection was formed. Furthermore, in the heavens all is invariable and according to law; nothing happens spontaneously or fortuitously. (*De Coelo II.*, 5. 1,) And universally, the most perfect and orderly things are the greatest distance from us. It is true that there is *something* natural and beautiful even in the lowest animals, (*De Part. Anim. I.* 5); but it is mixed with much that is unregulated by law, unnatural and fortuitous.

cause but the caprices of Nature. The doctrine of the fortuitous or spontaneous generation came, therefore, to play a most important part in the Aristotelan as well as in the vulgar view of nature;[57] and it was this conception applied to paleontological phenomena which threatened to throttle the infant science of geology. The common mind, looking with vague curiosity upon the fossils which were found imbedded in the various strata of the earth, was content to say that they were merely sports of nature. With that explanation of course all inquiry was at an end. Against this doctrine, so fatal to the interests of geological research, scientific idealism protested with all its strength. Firmly convinced that Nature was an ideal unity and not a merely fortuitous concourse of phenomena, it insisted that the most trifling events were something more than *lusus naturæ* — that even these stony mouldings upon the rocks, trivial as they seemed, were under as rigid a bond of causation as were the movements of the planetary system. Hence comes the science of geology. Its first feeble advance is to be credited to the idealism of art. Foremost among all those who gained some insight into the geologic problem stands the painter, Leonardo da Vinci. After him, for a century or two, a desultory discussion was carried on concerning the nature and origin of fossils. At last comes Steno who can rightfully claim the honor of having been the founder of geology. Animated by the convictions described above, Steno made a laborious study of the strata of the earth and clearly presented the true geological problem.[58] He may be said to have given the

[57] *Aristot. De Gen. Anim. I.* 1. *Physic II.*. 5, 1. Theophrastus makes constant use of this doctrine in his study of plants. (*Theoph. Hist. Plantarum II.* 1, 1. *De Causis Plant* 4, 4, 10.— 2, 7, 1, *et al.*)

[58] Steno. (*De Solido intra Solidum.* 6.) states the problem thus, "*Dato corpore certa figura praedito et juxta leges Naturae producto, in ipso corpore argumenta invenire, locum et modum productionis detegentia.*" The obstacles to the progress of geological science arising from the vulgar and empirical doctrines of spontaneity, may be imagined, when we find Steno forced to substantiate such propositions as this. "*Nullam esse montium regetationem.*" (*Ibid.* p. 34.) The idealistic spirit assumes two forms — the artistic and the geometrical — according as the idea of absolute beauty or of absolute truth prevails. Steno's idealism is of the latter form. He even seeks to subject the vague anatomical knowledge of his day to the rigors of geometrical deduction. (see his *Myologiae Specimen ant Musculi Descriptio Geometrica.*)

death blow to those empirical convictions, so fatal to science, which had led learned men like Fallopio to believe, that even the vases dug from the earth were accidental impressions or whims of nature.

The second era of geonostic advance induces the question of species. Pure empiricism recognizing in Kinds only groups of resembling objects, naturally tends to obliterate the distinctions of species or at least to belittle their importance; it would have regarded the labors of a Cuvier or a Brogniart as utterly puerile and useless. We find even Bacon yielding to the opinion of the empirical multitude, that the minute sub-divisions of organic life are merely the products "of the sport and wantonness of nature" unworthy of the observation of the wise.[59] To this current conception, the idealism of science opposed a profound faith in the typical distinction of species. Under the influence of that impulse, Lister, Hooke and others, began that minute comparison of fossils with existent kinds, which led them to such grand conjectures concerning the extinction of species that had belonged to other epochs of geological history. These nascent inductions were forced, however, to await the tardy development of Natural History, and more than a century had elapsed before they finally reached that stage of perfection which has carried Paleontology to the front rank of the sciences. The convictions of Idealism, then, have been at all times the main-springs of geological discovery. Indeed, the idealistic element predominated so excessively up to the beginning of the present century, that a salutary reaction was at last begun by William Smith and the English school. This reaction towards empiricism has been a most fortunate one; for while the wide area of geologic research remains but partially explored, and while Natural History continues in its present imperfect state, it is idle to

[59] *Works III. p.* 427. We must distinguish between the theory and the practice of Bacon. Theoretically, he vaguely represents the complex nature of the scientific spirit. His actual scientific knowledge, however, was very deficient, being mostly confined to the empirical notions commonly current in his day, Hence he had no appreciation of the really inductive labors prosecuted in his own age by Gilbert, Gailleo, and others, or even of the sublime discovery of Copernicus.

attempt those final inductions which the theories of Leibnitz, Hutton and others sought to establish.

Our survey of the history of science is ended. Brief and imperfect as it has been, it has fully verified, if we mistake not, the theory of induction propounded in these pages. It has clearly revealed the nature and origin of that scientific spirit which has sprung into life amid the complex civilization of modern times. Above all, it has unveiled, as we fondly believe, the sciolism of those who, reverent only of themselves and their immediate surroundings, conceive the empirical tendencies of the present age, to be the final landing-place of human thought — who look with supercilious contempt on that more profound faith, that deeper insight into Nature, which has already done so much for the progress of mankind, and has yet greater triumphs to win in the future.

Article XXIII.

The Preparation for Christianity.

At the period when, in the purpose of God, Christianity was to be introduced into the world, there was present the combined influence of three different civilizations — that of the Jews, that of the Greeks, and that of the Romans. The first was a civilization of Religion, the second of Literature and Art, and the third of Military Rule.

1. The *Jewish Civilization* was one in which theology was the leading element. Every thing took its character from their religion. The law of God was the law of the state, which was a pure theocracy — the business and pleasures of the people, their customs and manners, their domestic life, their social intercourse, their politics, every thing, being under the control and direction of their religion. The church was supreme as the representative of the divine law, and to this all action of the government and the individual must conform.

2. *Grecian Civilization* was one in which Literature and Art took the first position, shaping all the life of the people after their own spirit. The Greek language was the chosen vehicle of the learned in communicating their thoughts to the world. The statesman, the philosopher, the poet, the historian, the educated of all nations, turned to the language and literature of Greece as the central sun from which they derived their illumination, and gladly borrowed their light in order to attract the attention of the world.

3. *Roman Civilization* was the civilization of military conquest and rule. It was a centralism of the most perfected sort. The republic, the empire was every thing, and the importance of the individual took its measure wholly from the relation he sustained to the majesty of Rome. To this every thing was sacrificed. The Queen city must be mistress of the world; and kings, whole nations, standing in her way must perish in a day. Her power must be acknowledged, and set up in all the corners of the earth; and the proudest monarch and the humblest peasant, the fleets and armies of foe and friend, the pirate on the sea and the robber on land, must bow at the imperial nod.

In connection with these facts it is curious and instructive to note the singular preparation made by the divine providence for the introduction and spread of the gospel. Christianity was to set out as a universal religion; to set aside, overthrow and destroy all other religions on earth. It was to be preached to all nations, to every creature under heaven; and finally the religions of this world were to be absorbed in the religion of God, the one universal religion of righteousness and love.

Let us see how the several civilizations we have named were made to contribute to this great purpose of God, and to open the way for the diffusion of the gospel among the nations of that period.

I. The theocratic religion of the Jews prepared the way for the Saviour and his religion by its leading doctrine of the Messiah and his kingdom over all. The Jews spread his doctrine wherever they went, and they went or were driven almost

everywhere — to Persia, Assyria, Egypt, into the commercial cities of Greece and Asia Minor, to Rome and Southern Europe. The expectation of a great personage and a new order of things had spread itself all over the East, and there was a general expectation of some great change to be brought about by some divinely-commissioned person. *The wise men of the East* are an illustration, and *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* both mention it, and apply the prophecy to Vespasian, the Roman emperor.

Here, then, was a certain preparation; the attention of the nations was directed to this point; the people everywhere were familiar with the general expectation, that an important event was about to dawn on the world, beginning in the East, and eventually embracing all nations within its influence.

Now how much this availed the apostles, especially Paul, in the gospel ministry, is easily seen in the New Testament. The Jews were looking for the Messiah; the prophecies all indicated his coming as at hand. Paul had only to show that they had misunderstood the character of the Messiah, that he had actually come, but as a spiritual and not as a temporal deliver. This is one of the chief themes of the early preaching — and Jew and Gentile are urged to receive him as the Desire of all nations, the great Deliverer of the world.

II. Grecian civilization furnished a language for the preaching of the gospel.

The world was divided into multitudinous nations and tribes each with his own dialect; but for a long period before the introduction of Christianity the way had been preparing for a common language. The conquests of Alexander the Great had scattered the Greeks, their laws, literature, philosophy and politics throughout Europe, Egypt, the isles of the Mediterranean, Judea, Persia, India, and all Asia Minor. Of course their language began to be spoken in all these countries; and slowly it gained upon the aboriginal dialects, till it rooted them out in all important places, and became the language of the palace, the court, the law, the market and the streets.

It is truly astonishing to what extent the Greek found its way into all departments — it was the universal language. Even at Rome it had almost displaced the Latin, especially among the educated classes — and Juvenal in his satires inveighs bitterly against the tyranny of the Greek language, literature and customs.

Thus we see preparation is made by the general diffusion sion and use of the Greek as a common tongue, for the preaching of the gospel among all nations. It was easy for the first converts understanding this language to enter upon a missionary work. Greek then was in Europe what French is to-day. One who can talk French fluently can go with little difficulty throughout Europe, north and south. It is a sort of universal language, always spoken by the educated classes. So in the New-Testament times the Greek was the polite language of every nation, and was quite common among all classes, and so furnished a medium of communication for the truth to all conditions of men.

The prevalence of the Greek is shown by the fact that the New Testament is written in Greek, though intended for the people of every land and nation. And an incident mentioned in the account of the crucifixion illustrates its general use. The inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin — the first the local language, the last the Government language, and the Greek the common language of all.

Nothing could be more perfectly fitted to the wants of the new religion which was to be preached among all nations, than this general spread of a language like the Greek, so flexible, vigorous, rich in its vocabulary, and so generally popular. Admirable the preparation thus made by Providence for opening an avenue into the midst of all nations. Every new convert nearly could become a missionary, might set out for the most distant countries, quite sure that in every crowd he addressed, he would find some who understood Greek. So the Gospels and the Epistles written in this universal dialect, find readers equally in Europe, Asia and Africa, and converts may be expected everywhere, since classic speech is like an electric

wire connecting the preacher and the hearer. So much for the contribution of Grecian civilization to the spread of Christianity.

III. The third civilization, or that of Rome, furnished security of travel and safety of person for the promulgators of the gospel, as *its* contribution to the great cause of God and man.

Before Rome had made itself mistress of the world, the nations and tribes were in open hostility and constant conflict each with the other. There was no safety in passing from one country to another, and no facilities. The land was infested with robbers and organized banditti, and the sea with pirates as bloody and cruel as ever sailed the Spanish main in its worst days. No one could go forth in any direction from the cities and fortified places without putting his life in peril.

In this state of things how impossible to send abroad the Gospel missionary to preach the good tidings of the new religion. These wretches regarded neither gods nor men, and the preacher of Christianity would have fared as all others who ventured within their reach. Speaking after the view of man, in this state of civilization the preaching of the Gospel must have been mostly confined to the cities and towns.

But the same Providence which provided a language, provided also a way. For some centuries before the coming of Christ that way had been preparing. The Roman armies had subdued nation after nation, on every side, till her empire was universal, and all the hostile tribes, and contending peoples, and rival cities were united under her central iron rule. The sea was swept clear of pirates. Pompey, the antagonist of Julius Cæsar, made himself famous in this department. The bands of murderous thieves and cutthroats were destroyed or dispersed; military ways were built from Rome, as the center, into the most distant provinces; roads opened through forests and swamps from city to city; and a police established everywhere so that, when Christianity was announced, and its preachers were ready to enter on their work, it was as safe travelling in any part of that vast empire as it is in our own country; and a man could pass through Italy, or Greece, or Germany with a feeling of greater security than he can now.

Thus, under providence, old Rome did her part faithfully towards facilitating the preaching of the Gospel. She opened a highway among the nations of the earth, and gave safe passage to the early missionaries. Under her protection they might penetrate to the ends of the known earth, and none dared to molest them, if her terrible name were invoked in their behalf.

And now with the world in waiting for the opening of a new religious era, with a universal language, and with a free and secure intercourse with all nations, there was needed a leader, a chosen man fitted to enter upon the great work of preaching the eternal truths of the Gospel. And was this want provided for? The history of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, is an answer to the question.

When the Lord spake to Ananias of the miraculous conversion of Paul, he said, "he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." It is exceedingly interesting to look at this subject in its minute relations. The difficulties were numerous and great, and the qualifications necessary to this work were various and opposite.

1. The servant of the Lord must be a Jew, in order to meet the peculiar religious views of the Jews; for they would not listen to a Gentile teacher. He must be of the influential sect of that people, must be educated in the law, in the customs, opinions and rites of his people, in order to meet every phase of opposition to his missionary labors as a servant of the Messiah.

All this Paul was. He was born of Jewish parents, brought up a Pharisee of the straightest sect, and educated by Gamaliel, one of the most distinguished doctors of Jerusalem. He was a zealous defender of the Law, even to persecution; he was on terms of familiarity with the government officials, and with the priesthood, and had access to the best society. He was thoroughly versed in the sacred books of the nation, and knew all the prophesies respecting the Messiah, so that he was armed against his adversaries at every point.

On the Jewish side, therefore, Paul was perfectly prepared as a preacher and a leader to announce the opening of the kingdom of God on earth, to demonstrate the fulfilment of the ancient prophesies in the person of Jesus Christ. Truly in this respect a more fitting messenger could not have been found, and the words are fulfilled in him — a "chosen vessel of the Lord."

2. This chosen servant must be familiar with the Greek language and literature, since he was to bear the name of God before the Gentiles and kings; and he must be sufficiently well educated in their learning to command their respectful attention.

In an all this Paul was ready for his work. He spoke and wrote Greek with the facility of a native, as his epistles show, and he was acquainted with their literature, poetry and philosophy. He repeatedly quotes their poets, and his splendid arguments before Felix and Festus, and specially at Athens, show his learning and skill, and discover to us how perfectly he was fitted as a missionary to the Gentiles.

3. This leader in the gospel labor must be a citizen of Rome in order to secure his person against injury, and to facilitate his work as an itinerant preacher.

Here, too, Providence has ordered the case in wisdom. Though born of Jewish parents, Paul was a free citizen of Rome, entitled to all the privileges of his great name. The honor of citizenship had probably been conferred on his family as the reward of services rendered in the civil wars.

Thus the great apostle and missionary was secured against abuse and injury by a right which no magistrate nor king dared to question. He availed himself on several occasions of this security. For an example see Acts xxii. 21.

Thus we find everything prepared for the incoming of the gospel, and its promulgation in the world. The hand of God appears everywhere — the mountains are levelled, the valleys filled, the crooked made straight, and the rough places smooth.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Sears' [1] *"Heart of Christ."*

Nearly all the modern controversies relative either to the authority of the Christian Scriptures or to the genuineness of any portion of them, date from Germany. The revolt against Church traditions which broke forth in that country in 1517, has been continuous up to this hour. "Germany inherits schism," remarks the melancholy Pope, — not her only inheritance which the Papal Father has reason to deplore. It was natural that the birth of Protestantism, amid throes that agitated every home in the empire, should introduce an era of extraordinary intellectual activity in the Church. It was quite as natural that this movement should be marked by speculative excesses. But no one, we imagine, would have predicted an agitation at once so profound and so long continued as that which resulted, or guessed into what philosophical and theological eccentricities it would lead. While a strong party has maintained with tolerable consistency the Orthodoxy of Luther, either as modified in the "Book of Concord" or as elaborated in the Calvinistic confessions, other parties, created successively by periodical outbreaks of heresy, have been making excursions into all the outlying fields of human inquiry. Leaving out of our account the mysticism of Bœhm, the pietism of Spener, and the exegetical theories of Semler, Ernesti and Wolf, as not transcending Orthodoxy in form, though undoubtedly they did in spirit, we may note as the first great departure, that made by Reimarus in his *Wolfenbüttelsche Fragmente*, but which would probably have proved unimportant but for the patronage of Lessing. This rather hasty plunge into ultra Deism was partially corrected in the Rationalism which sprang up in the wake of the Critical Philosophy of Kant, the heir of both the philosophy and the theology of Lessing. The next important

[1] *The Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ.* By Edmund H. Sears. Second Edition. Boston: Noyes, Holmes & Co., 1872. pp. 551.

development in the theology which had broken with Orthodoxy, was that with which the name of Schleiermacher is connected—the theory that spiritual truth is discerniable and a correct life possible, only to those who have attained the "Christian consciousness." In less technical terms, that by doing the will of God we come to know what the doctrine of God is: a theory that was unfolded by its great expounder with much lofty enthusiasm, but, unfortunately, with such baffling indistinctness also, that while some followed it with ever-growing security of faith, others found it a direct road to unbelief. The final complexion of Schleiermacher's doctrine, both in Germany and in this country, is well exemplified in the fallacious half-truth: "It makes no difference what a man believes so long as his life is right."

Another profound movement in this theology was that which took its rise with Schelling, and after being formulated by Hegel, issued, on the one side in a sort of tamed and sublimated Orthodoxy, and on the other—the side of the "Young Hegelians"—in the Tübingen School of theology, which has been chiefly distinguished by its adventures in historical criticism. Of this school the most eminent representative is Ferdinand Christian Baur. His place in the group of German neologists, as well as his service to theological science, may be briefly indicated by stating that he devoted his studies mainly to the philosophy of historical criticism, with the view of showing how the application of this philosophy affects the received opinion of the New Testament writings. It is generally conceded, we believe, among candid scholars of all the schools, that Baur and his disciples have lifted and dispelled much of the mist which had for centuries hung over these writings, and that they have added no small sum to the stock of our knowledge of the origin and early development of many church doctrines. So powerful was the influence of this school for a time that their dictum in regard to almost any historical question concerning Christianity, began to be considered final. When we add that they changed the date of the origin, and so of course, unsettled the authorship, of

nearly every one of the books of the New Testament, it may be gathered how great a revolution they were working in the belief of Christendom. Their critical labors were, however, subjected to test as time went on; and while the traditional theories and opinions were greatly modified by their researches, the authenticity of most of the books was established on broader and stronger grounds than before. To this remark it has quite generally been held the Gospel of John remained an exception. Any one acquainted with the literature of theology during the last twenty years, will not require to be told how this supposition has colored equally the most learned treatises and the most transient religious disquisitions. The Gospel of John has been uniformly treated as if covered with some grave suspicion. Writers who felt at liberty to speak in the most positive terms of the other three gospels, have either made a special reservation in regard to John, or passed it in ominous silence. It has come to be designated "The Fourth Gospel," as if it stood apart from the others and were entitled to less consideration. Baur referred this gospel to some writer of the latter part of the second century. His view was followed by Strauss and Zeller, and later, by Renan, Schenkel, J. J. Tayler and Dr. Furness; each of whom has given his reasons — chiefly those adduced by Baur — for holding that John was not the author of the Fourth Gospel.

There have been numerous attempts to refute the reasonings and discredit the facts on which the Tübingen critics base their conclusion that the Gospel of John was "compiled" by an unknown writer of the second century. Hase, Bleek, Schaff and Tholuck, gave early attention to the theories of Baur and his followers; Bunsen also traversed their conclusions; and later, Tischendorf, who has brought to the discussion a thoroughness of research to which no other student of the historical basis of Christianity can lay equal claim, has furnished ample evidence of the errors on which those theories were built. But no English author had as yet appeared in defense of the genuineness of the Gospel of John who had made that writting and its reputed author a special study in the

light of modern disclosures; or no one at least, who appeared to think it an inquiry of sufficient breadth and importance to merit consideration in a separate treatise.

Mr. Sears, in the volume whose title we have written at the head of this article, undertakes to supply this lack. It is, perhaps, as high praise of the effort as need be written, to say that it is in no respect a failure. So much was demanded of any one who essayed the task, that incompleteness in some department was to be expected. It required in the first place, thorough acquaintance with the history of the controversy. In the next place, an equal familiarity with the history of the Church and with the status of its sacred documents during the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. In the third place, an accurate knowledge of the philosophical systems with which Christianity came in contact in the East. And, subordinate to these, but hardly less essential, critical knowledge of the text of the New Testament; acquaintance with the manners, customs and characteristics of the peoples of that time and those countries; a habit of analysis and some ability to arrange and dress the materials of the work so as to preserve it from that air of desolation which is apt to surround inquiries of this nature. If in addition to these qualifications we could have a man of insight and philosophical comprehension, we would seem to be most fortunately conditioned for the acquisition of whatever light on this subject our present opportunities admit of. The best evidence we could have of the degree in which Mr. Sears fills up this measure, must be found in his work. And on that evidence he is shown to be every way competent to the important labor he assumed. If we are not much misguided in our judgment, "The Heart of Christ" will take rank with the first works of its class and age: nor can we doubt that its influence on the controversy in relation to the Fourth Gospel will be profound and lasting. If it were possible for any one to be so preposessed against the authenticity of this gospel as to be able to go calmly through all the reasons Mr. Sears adduces in support of it, without conviction, it certainly is not possible that he should close the volume without at least being

persuaded that a cause capable of so strong a defense is sure to win the suffrages of a fair share of mankind.

To confine the volume within convenient limits, Mr. Sears omitted what would have been very suitable as an introduction to his work, viz., a sketch of the history of the controversy over the Fourth Gospel. The want of this is something of a drawback to the interest of his book; but we should not wish to spare any portion of the work as it now stands to make room for it.

Under the head of "Preliminary," Mr. Sears gives three essays, one on the Supernatural, one on Miracles, and a third on "The Immanence of God." In the first of these he distinguishes between Nature and the Supernatural, by classing under the former "the world of sight, sound, and fragrance that lies over against the senses;" and under the latter, "the range of existence conceived as out of time and space, and therefore beyond the dominion of natural law"—the spiritual world. In the course of this essay the author presents some considerations which have the effect to make the Supernatural seem the more interesting as well as the more elevated of these two ranges of life. In the second, he states and illustrates his theory of miracle. It is not a break in natural law, but an extension of it. Miracle is, according to its etymology, a surprise. It is called such because to those on the lower side of it no reason for it appears. But there is a reason; and to those who view the phenomenon from above it is not a surprise, not a miracle, because the reason for it is apparent. The natural world enfolds somewhat of the spiritual, as the body encloses the spirit. The phenomena of the spiritual world, occurring in the midst of the operations of the natural, strike those familiar only with the latter, as freaks or interferences in the order of nature. Instead of that, however, they are merely additions to the usual phenomena, as strictly referable to a cause as they and as much a part of an eternal order. The supernatural, always involved in the natural, comes to visible issue here and there, in obedience to its own laws; and because that is to us unanticipated and un-

explainable, we denominate the surprise, a miracle. The third treats of "The Immanence of God:" that is, the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in man. This is but another branch of the doctrine just stated, that the supernatural is involved in the natural. God is present in his creations, and their development is fed by his energy. Exclude him from them and there is neither ground for explaining what they are or hoping what they are to become. Not that the Divine Person is in man and in nature; that were to make the slide into pantheism, easy if not necessary. But that an efflux from the Divine Person perpetually pervades His creations.

The object of these essaps is to put the reader in possession of the author's standpoint. They seem at first to be quite remote from the inquiry in hand. But as we read on we perceive the use of these preliminary definitions. The truth is, Mr. Sears' conception of the Gospel of John as "The Heart of Christ," compelled him to supply the whole living organism to which this holds that vital relation. His volume is, therefore, a sort of ground plan of Christian theology. Full and exhaustive as the historical examination is, it seems rather incidental than fundamental in the work. He exhibits the entire system, shows what the relation of part to part must be in order to preserve the symmetry of the whole, and thereby demonstrates, as he could not by any other process, the place occupied by the "Heart." His plan, therefore, required the careful attention which he has given in the "Preliminary" essays, and throughout the work, to the primary facts of religion.

Part I. conducts the historical argument, by showing, first, the intellectual attitude in which the people among whom John exercised his ministry stood to theology in general as well as to Christianity in particular. This is done in a concise and admirable chapter on Gnosticism. Then we get a most life-like picture of St. John at Ephesus, followed by an examination of the Johannean writings, in which the evidence that the Apocalypse is from the same hand as the Fourth Gos-

pel and the Catholic Epistle, is presented in a manner to carry conviction to the ingenuous mind. The change of style at which critics have stumbled, is shown by Mr. Sears to be not only explainable, but required by the change of character on the part of the writer. The remarks on this point and the penetration displayed in detecting the characteristics of the beloved disciple's mind under the veil of prophetic imagery, reflect great credit on the author's powers of discrimination. A special difficulty in this connection receives attention in a separate chapter on "The Scope of the Apocalypse," in which Mr. Sears expounds that bewildering production on a modified Swedenborgian theory.

Entering now fully on the historical argument, Mr. Sears gathers the testimony of the witnesses of the Second century, and presents it so as to make the case conclusive in favor of the early date of the Fourth Gospel. Having gone carefully through that, he delays the investigation to submit in two characteristic essays some of those calm and weighty reflections on the circumstances of the problem, which constitute such an unfailing charm in this work. The fact that with the advent of Christ new spiritual phenomena began to appear, indicating that the heavens were pressing into the sphere of nature, is set forth in a strong light, in the first essay. In the second, the utter absurdity of the claim that Jesus was "the product of his age," is exhibited with convincing proofs.

Part II. is devoted to what Mr. Sears calls "Historic Memorials." The aim in these chapters is to show the relation of the four narratives of the life and ministry of Jesus to each other and to the facts of the situation, with the view of making apparent the organic unity of the Gospels and showing how authors, incidents, scenery, and the whole foreground of the picture, make a natural and in no way an artificial combination. The theory of parallelism between the first three Gospels is rejected, and the view taken that they are rather complementary to each other. And here we touch the chief point in Mr. Sears' argument for the authenticity of John. He supposes John wrote his account perhaps thirty years after

the last of the other three was written, and with all of them before him, expressly to supplement, from his own more minute knowledge of many particulars, the narratives of the synoptics. To comprehend it, therefore, one must consider it as fitting into the others, and together with them completing the history of Christ. It receives a coloring, also, from the date at which it was written, and particularly from the peculiar circumstances of John's situation at Ephesus. This view, we ought to add, is not taken as a theory to defend, and all the details worked ingeniously into it. But it grows out of the facts and the testimony, so that no other view seems possible.

Part III. is occupied with the private ministry of Jesus, embracing, however, so much of his public ministry as is essential to the continuity of the history. The purpose here is much the same as in Part II., the main difference being in the time and events chosen to exhibit the fuller harmony of the picture. Taking up the personal history of Jesus, after he was fitted for the full reception of the Divine commission, by his sojourn in the wilderness, Mr. Sears weaves together a series of events which present the Master in an aspect almost wholly new, and let us into that near circle of intimacy within which the apostle John seems always to stand. At the same time and by the same means the numerous instances in which John's narrative interlaces the others are brought out in strong relief. The last essay in Part III., that on "The Person of Jesus Christ," is particularly noteworthy, as being in fine contrast with the fanciful picture drawn by that lively romancer, Ernest Renan.

Part IV. is concerned with the "Johannean Theology." In the first three chapters of this part we have the cosmology of Plato described; its influence over the philosophy and theology of the time carefully measured and defined; and a comparison between that and the cosmology of John made. The effect is to demonstrate that the Johannean cosmology is entirely distinct both from that of Plato and from that modification of Plato's doctrine which took the name of Gnosticism.

In a word, John's cosmology is the Logos Doctrine of the New Testament, announced by Jesus, apprehended and partially expounded by Paul and by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, but unfolded in its completeness by John in the Golden Proem to the Fourth Gospel, in the Catholic epistle, and in the Apocalypse. After a chapter on the "Transparencies of Nature" and another on "The Word Made Flesh," intended to pave the way for the clearer comprehension of the Logos Doctrine, Mr. Sears takes up the exposition of that "mystery." The subject is difficult of explication to even the most patient and receptive intelligence. However permeated with light, therefore, it may be in his mind, he must naturally anticipate some difficulty in making it equally luminous to others.

The Logos Doctrine, as enunciated in the Golden Proem and unfolded to the full in the Fourth Gospel, asserts, according to Mr. Sears, that God ever has been and ever will be going forth as creative energy and wisdom. He is in perpetual manifestation. What thus ever expresses God is the Logos, or "God speaking," in the vocabulary of John. This is not a person, though it is personified. In Jesus Christ this Logos, or Manifesting Energy of God, became embodied. It was lodged as a latent attribute in the nature of Jesus and conditioned to unfold, after his other and properly human attributes, so as finally to subordinate them and constitute the predominant substance and force of his being. It was the divine hid in the human, and gradually coming to consciousness, as the time ripened, through that veil of flesh. At length, when it was full-orbed in Jesus, he spake and acted from the plane of perfect oneness with God. He was God in manifestation, and hence appropriated to himself the Divine name, authority and prerogatives. This explains the numerous declarations of Jesus, as reported by John, in which he speaks from the heights of the Divine consciousness and in language which else were both ridiculous and blasphemous.

If we have not given Mr. Sears' full thought, the reader may supplement any inaccuracy or inadequacy in our state-

ment by the aid of the following concise exposition in the author's own words:

The Eternal Word, which was in the beginning and in which God ever is, was so embodied and impersonated in the Christ that in his full Messianic consciousness he calls it himself. As such he came forth from the Father and returned to the Father; as such he comes down from heaven, ascends to heaven, and is the Son of Man in Leaven; as such he created the world, and judges the world; as such he raises the dead; as such he was before Abraham; and as such he promises, "Lo! I am with you always." This we understand to be the doctrine of the Logos which, carried through the Johannean writings, and the whole New Testament as well, makes a continuous line of light.[2]

Just how the human nature united with the Divine Reason in the Christ, Mr. Sears does not pretend to explain. He follows Tertullian, Origen, and the Greek fathers generally, in describing it as the "hypostatic union," and speaks of it as the "inexistence of natures," besides using the Scriptural phraseology, "the Word made flesh." But all this, while it may accurately describe the fact does not explain it. To this dilemma, Mr. Sears is not indifferent; but he responds, that the difficulty is precisely that, and no greater, which we encounter in trying to understand the union of the infinite with the finite in every human being. God is in man, in every man, yet every man retains his human identity. How? Nobody has found out. So the Manifesting Energy of God is in the Christ in union with human nature, but no one can tell how.

Perhaps no more satisfactory view, on the whole, has ever been presented, or can be. The union of two natures in one personality is not inconceivable, though it certainly is inexplicable.[3] Mr. Sears' hypothesis escapes the insuperable difficulty encountered in the Trinitarian conception, by excluding

[2] Page 490.

[3] Mr. Beecher, in his Life of Christ, rejects the theory of the union of a human with a Divine soul He supposes that the Divine was the only occupant. God took a human body; there was no human soul.

personality from the Divine Word. To affirm that two personalities are blended in one, is not only to assert what is unexplainable, but equally what is unintelligible. But to allege that the Divine Creative Energy, or any other expression of the Divine nature, is implanted within a person whom it thus transforms and at last dominates, presents no obstacle to reason. Besides, the fact that Jesus was a man *and something more*, is the primary fact in his history, as presented in the evangelists. The hypothesis adopted by Mr. Sears allows for that fact and so far as may be explains it.

We have other and concluding chapters, on the "Johannean Atonement," on "Converging Lines" of theology, and on "The Thrones in Heaven," which assist to complete the author's survey of the theology and cosmology of John, but present nothing of special importance. The last paragraph of the final chapter, we may remark, rises to a conception of the mission of Jesus Christ with which we find ourselves in rapturous accord.

In presenting to the readers of the QUARTERLY this summary of a truly remarkable treatise, we have not indulged ourselves in what is usually understood by "criticism." We have not refrained, however, because no opportunities offered,[4] but rather because the great importance of the work and the commanding ability shown in the treatment, seemed to require at our hands, first of all, a careful exposition. In doing this — inadequately we know but not incorrectly we trust — we have taken occasion to set forth as fairly as possible the style and spirit of the work. If we leave on our readers the impression that it is a calm, profound and comprehensive examination of a much befogged subject; that it is charged with a sublime spiritual import; that wherever it touches it illuminates those philosophical or exegetical problems which others had darkened; and that it exhibits the "Heart of Christ" at

[4] The statement made by Mr. Sears that Jesus accepted and taught the current demonology of his time; the use of the term "everlasting punishment," as if the author understood it in the usual Orthodox sense; and the apparently studied avoidance of any statement or the use of any term liable to prove offensive to the Orthodox reader, are among the things that invite criticism.

the centre of an organism everywhere harmonious with nature and pulsating with the life of God, we shall have induced a persuasion that the volume is one which no student of the greatest of sciences can afford to neglect, and so have accomplished our main purpose in this writing.

ARTICLE XV.

A Popular Objection to Universalism Reviewed.

THE point of doctrine which sharply separates Universalism from every other theology, is that of the Certainty of Salvation for every soul of man. We hold that it is fixed and integral in the purpose of God that at last all mankind will be redeemed from sin — so much so, that if at last even one is hopelessly lost, the government of God is thereby made a failure. Universal salvation is not simply possible, nor probable, nor provided for; it is pledged. Hence distinctively the Universalist principle—the Certainty of redemption for each and all.

We take pains to isolate in order to emphasize this one feature of doctrine; for it is our present business to consider the popular objection to Universalism based on that assertion of certainty. That objection takes this form: Say that a soul must be saved, and you logically say of that soul, that it will not have the power to continue in sin. But to take from it the power to be sinful, is to take from it the power to be righteous; since in every case righteousness is that which one voluntarily seeks. It enters into every definition of righteousness that it is the state of character which a soul, *knowing it can refuse*, volunteers to elect. Take away this consciousness of power to refuse, and the Christian conception of righteousness disappears; and then all that remains is a totally different kind of righteousness—that, for example, which can be made and put into a soul, as a gem can be put in a casket, but nevermore that character which the soul itself makes and for itself.

Logically developed the objection means that a certain salvation is equivalent to a forced salvation—a situation in which the soul redeemed has no more choice in the matter, has no more power to resist, than has clay in the hands of a potter. When a Universalist therefore proclaims his doctrine, he virtually says to the sinner,—that is, according to the philosophy of the objection,—"You will be saved at last, for you will have no power to prevent; your salvation is in prospect made, and in due time will be forced upon you, and whether you will or no!"

We have done our best to make clear and strong the one objection, which, more than any other, operates to the prejudice of the Universalist faith. We do this with more than a willing zeal. We expect to show that Universalism is not at all open to the accusation thus implied. But whether it is or is not, we will join with anybody, with any sect, in anathematizing any belief that rests on the principle of a Forced salvation—of a salvation made for a soul and thrust into it, rather than by the soul acting with no sense of arbitrary compulsion. However Christians may disagree on other points, here is a point respecting which it is a disgrace to the educated intellect to have a doubt or contrary opinion: all salvation, whether of the Now or the Hereafter,—of time or eternity,—must be that which each soul chooses, and this while conscious that it has the power to decline. If it shall appear that Universalism must go down before that principle of all redemption, lack of ability shall be our only reason for not denouncing Universalism in terms stronger than have yet been invented.

The question then presents itself, *Does the Certainty of Salvation imply a lack of power to refuse it?* We all agree—at least, all ought to—that to affirm this lack of power, or to hold any theory necessitating such an affirmation, is to deny all that is essential in Christian theology. Does this doctrine of Certainty put Universalism in that disreputable plight? We have said that we will spare no belief that drives one to such an alternative. It is therefore but fair that we raise the question, whether in the worst contingency the Universalist is alone

in disgrace. The Evangelical is perpetually throwing the objection under consideration at Universalists. But has it occurred to him that in case it is a real stone he is throwing, possibly himself is in a house of glass? In case we must go down, let us see if Universalist misery cannot have orthodox company.

Now carefully note that the peculiarity of Universalism is in claiming Certainty for the salvation of all. But it is not against *this*, that the objection under consideration is exclusively directed. The Evangelical postulate is that the simple Certainty of salvation implies the lack of power to refuse it, and so becomes a suicidal proposition. But this is not the Universalist proposition; for Certainty may be affirmed of one soul, as well as of a hundred; of a hundred as well as of all. And the question returns, Does not orthodoxy believe in the certain salvation of anybody? Does it leave the whole question loose? Is there nothing fixed in the government of God? Is it among the possibilities that at last all men will be lost? Now the moment orthodoxy affirms a certain righteousness for God, angel, or one man, it is, according to the theory he brings against Universalism, rigidly in the plight of denying that God, angel, or the particular man, has the power to be other than righteous, — in other words, has no moral nature, the very essence of which is the power to do right conjoined with, or as part of, a conscious power to do wrong.

Now there is not a creed in the land but will affirm Certainty of God's personal righteousness, that He is holy, just and true, now and will be forever more—the absolute certainty of all this is never questioned. To doubt this would be atheism — so regarded by everybody. What then, is God's righteousness something made for Him and thrust upon Him whether He "will or no?" As a righteous God, is he simply "clay in a potter's hand?" Does His righteousness lack the essential Christian element for the reason that in being righteous He cannot help himself? Now we say to our orthodox polemic, answer this general question satisfactorily, and we

will take your exact words and dispose of the objection as brought against Universalism!

Again, of the good who have died, and, on evangelical principles, gone to heaven, we never hear the question raised as to the certainty of their continuance in holiness. Not a day passes but some pastor is called upon to pay tribute to the memory of the good Christian, who, having kept the faith, and honored the Christian profession by a godly life, is presumed to have "gone to his reward" — the holiness and happiness of heaven. But does the good preacher ever add: "Yet of the dear departed, do not presume to think that his continuance in holiness is by any means certain; for if you say this, you virtually say that he has ceased to be a moral being; that his goodness is no longer voluntary; that he has become as clay in the hands of the potter. As a moral being it is still in his power to sin; and if he has the power, he may exercise it. There can be no certainty in the case at all. We do not know but that the saint we loved on earth, may take a notion to become very wicked and exchange his state of heaven for the state of hell." No, we never hear "words of consolation" in this direction. Yet by what consistency does the evangelical presume on a certainty in the continuance of salvation, which when dealing with Universalism he argues is destructive of the moral element in salvation? The fact is here: there is not a preacher or writer in the land who really thinks that Certainty in salvation implies a lack of power to decline it; for in dealing of orthodox salvation in the world to come, he presumes upon its certainty as a matter of course. We respectfully invite any reader of this to name a single instance in practical disproof of what we here allege.

Now here is the gross injustice which is made to tell with serious effect to the prejudice of the Universalist faith: everywhere orthodoxy makes Universalism obnoxious to an objection which, if it has any force, tells with equal pertinence against itself; to create a prejudice against the belief it rejects, it puts forth a principle which in reference to itself it treats as of no effect. That principle, as we have seen, is this:

Certainty of salvation implies a lack of power to reject it. This principle is a specious misnomer.

The point is here: the relation of God's sovereignty to man's moral freedom is to say the least very difficult of comprehension. We think the most moderate of all ages agree that it presents a problem insoluble to the limited intelligence of man. How God can unalterably determine that Pharaoh's heart shall harden, and yet Pharaoh have the power to prevent that hardening: how the conduct of the brethren in selling Joseph can be "meant" by God, and so be "certain," while the brethren all the while have the moral power to resist the temptation; how the delivery of Christ into wicked hands can be a part of the Divine decree, and yet Judas, the immediate instrument of carrying the decree into operation, have full power to remain faithful to the Master, and so become guilty of sin in doing what nevertheless must needs be,—how all this is to be solved, is the perpetual question. Very likely some readers of this may not agree with us, that the perpetual question is a perpetual mystery. Writers of the school of T. Southwood Smith think they have solved it. But no one having an eye to the nature of the question, ever calls it a simple one. More brain and culture and industry have been given to it than to any other subject of human thought.

Yet to make a point against Universalism,—to expose this belief to the prejudice of the fanatical rabble to be found in every church,—evangelical writers and preachers do not hesitate to make the problem bear against the Universalist, and then see in it the insoluble mystery where it bears against orthodoxy; or else, and what is more common, stubbornly shut their eyes to the fact, that if it has any bearing at all to the prejudice of the one belief, that bearing is equally conclusive against the other.

Universalism asserts an absolute certainty for the salvation of all, and yet admits that each and all have the power to reject the salvation. Does the orthodox say, there is seeming contradiction in the statement? We rightfully answer: then help us explain it! The seeming contradiction (if that is the

character of the difficulty) is not in Universalism alone; it is in orthodoxy quite as much. Indeed, the seeming contradiction is in every theology which affirms a certainty in the government of moral beings; that affirms a certain continuance in holiness on the part of a moral God, angel, or saint in glory; it is in every passage of scripture which predicts the overthrow of a nation, the destruction of a city, the triumph of a cause —all of them contingencies depending on the conduct of moral beings, who, for the reason that they *are* moral, must have the power to refrain from doing what the success of God's plan requires that they do! If the evangelical will adhere to his just conception of moral salvation, he will find his hands full if he seeks to explain the objection as it bears upon his own theology. When he is through we will simply adopt his statements. Himself shall answer his own objection to Universalism.

But we will not concede that the difficulty has the magnitude of a "seeming contradiction." In human affairs, at least, we can predicate certainty in numerous things and yet concede the existence of a power able to prevent the result. It is absolutely certain that a healthy man, sound in limb, will go from place to place in his own dwelling or shop, on his feet. Yet he has the "power" to creep, or even "roll." It is absolutely certain that in a dark room a sound man will strike a light when he would see, yet he has the power to do this when he would hear, and only then. It is absolutely certain that every sane man will put food to his mouth and not to his ears, but he has the "power" to refrain from the natural thing and to attempt the ridiculous. But why multiply examples? The notion that *all* men may choose to be endlessly damned because they have the power so to elect, orthodox not less than Universelist pronounces absurd. In this one case, the whole principle of the objection is surrendered. Certainty of Salvation does not deny the power to refuse it—orthodoxy says this in the case of those in glory; Universalism says this in regard to all—both as regards salvation from actual sin, and continuance in salvation when attained.

Article XVI.

Letters of Murray and Richards.

We here resume and finish the Letters of Rev. George Richards, which were commenced in the July number of the Quarterly. Perhaps we have in the eighth letter a revelation from Mr. Richards' own pen of the physical and mental conditions that finally led to the sad catastrophe which terminated his life. His own "fine nervous sensibilities," his quick sympathy with all suffering, specially of those he loved, the mental disturbances which followed every serious trouble, the keen anguish caused by the opinions and conduct of some whom he counted as friends—it is easy to see how all these things, working upon his weak nerves and irritable brain, should make life seem "an intolerable burthen, a load too grievous to be borne," and finally lead to the "settled phrenzy" which ended in the mournful tragedy of self-destruction.

VI.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Nov. 18th, 1806.

My Dear Sir and Brother:—On my return from Philadelphia, I think it my duty to address a friend who feels an interest in all which concerns his Brother.

The Philadelphians received me with great kindness; gave me a unanimous call to become their pastor, and offered me a salary of $1000. per year. But whether this was intentionally for life, or whether it was for a limited time only, were questions which we did not discuss totally, as I thought it my duty to refer them to my church and people for a final answer. That this offer is ostensibly better than my present offers at Portsmouth, where my salary is only $500. per annum, is true; but when I consider that the much-to-be-respected Brother Jones was suffered to literally starve among this very people, and that, if it had not been for the benevolence of other Societies, he must have endured the want of all things, I feel a little diffident of accepting this call without very serious consideration; for altho' I am not settled as I could wish

with respect to the fulness of needed cash, yet I am in the midst of a very kind people. Meantime, as I am uncertain of the final event respecting myself, I have besought them to turn their attention towards you in case that they should be disappointed of me; and I have had no scruple to say that you possess those gifts and graces in a superabounding degree which must ensure the respect, affection and love of all the churches. And I am authorized from them to say that a visit from you in the course of the coming 6 months would be peculiarly acceptable to them, and very handsomely rewarded by them as a people; for tho' it is possible that they may fail in the long run of extended life, yet at the moment of impassioned feeling, they are generous and noble, praiseworthy and kind in word and deed.

At the same moment, as I am far from being certain but that it may be thot best that I should finally go to Philadelphia, I wish to know whether you are acquainted, in the case of such an event, with any of our young friends who might possibly suit my people. As an individual, I am not so well acquainted with the gifts and graces of the young ministers as you may be; but my thots have led me to look towards Brother Flagg, and I should be glad of your opinion on this subject.

Almost persuaded that my dear people at Portsmouth will not part with me, uncertain of all that is future, and leaving the disposal of me and mine to God's holy guidance, I could wish that you would consider the assured offer of the Philadelphia Church as directed to you in case of my non-acceptance; and perhaps it may be well to let me know whether you think it is probable that you shall be led to visit them in the course of the present wintry months, and if this cannot be done, whether you will authorize me to give them any encouragement of your settling with them provided that I remain at Portsmouth. For of all my public Brethren, there is no one whom I wish so well provided for as Brother T[urner], it always having been my opinion that his abilities ought not to be confined within the limits of a few country towns, and that a Capital is the place where his abilities ought to shine.

Submitting these thoughts to your solemnized attention, and waiting your friendly answer, I am, with respects to Mrs. Turner, Your mo. affectionate Friend,

GEORGE RICHARDS.

This letter and the two following are superscribed, "Rev.

Edward Turner, Sturbridge, Massachusetts, at Brookfield Post Office."

VII.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, May 4, 1807.

DEAR SIR, BROTHER AND FRIEND: — Your friendly Epistle of —— 15th. in reply to mine of Jan'y 20th, was duly received, and the apology for not answering it before is full sufficient.

It is matter of renewed grief that Mrs. Turner's state of extreme debility should be increased by the late influenza, which has prevailed in this place as well as in Massachusetts; but I flatter myself with the pleasing expectation that the salubrious airs of Spring, accompanied by a blessing on the Salem [medical] faculty, and the purer air of a sea-region, together with the journey, may operate greatly in her favor, and produce a state of renovated health that she has not enjoyed for some years.

I think that the arrangement which the Salemites have made is generous for a young people, and that your choice of a House ready furnished is preferable to one on any other principle; neither can it be said that $37.50 [quarterly?] is dear for all the promised conveniences.

I am glad that this expected visit to Salem draws you nearer to me, and that I have reason to anticipate a visit. On this day of visiting, be sure to bring Mrs. Turner with you, as the small ride of 40 miles will do her good, and the air of this place is peculiarly salubrious for sick people; and perhaps we are favored with the finest river in this part of the world, and can find the happiest assemblage of pleasant islands to pass a summer's day upon.

By a letter from Ballou, he informs me of the kindest reception among your people, and that he is pleased to discern your growth, and the increase of Christian knowledge which enables you to combat with the enemies of Zion.

I am told by a friend of Ballou's that he has no objection against leaving Vermont, and in my last, [I] have directed him to Philadelphia, provided that he should wish for such a place, and that Brother Noah [Murray] does not accept the call of said society. With respect to his Treatise on Atonement, there is much ingenuity, great boldness, some wit, and, I believe, real sincerity; but I think you know my sentiments too well to suppose that I approve of everything therein, and I am almost persuaded that you are not a convert in total to

his system. But when we have the pleasure of meeting, if this Treatise should be the subject of conversation, we will mutually change sentiments. It is, however, a popular work among our young ministers, and Kneeland has swallowed it in total.

The triumph of Republicanism is a thing that has long been wished for in Massachusetts. But as an individual, I have always thot the conduct of Governor Strong praiseworthy, and I doubt whether Sullivan can act with more propriety. But generally speaking, I seldom meddle with politics, and rest well-contented with this declaration in Holy Writ, that the Most High ruleth, and therefore feel no sorrow at the setting up of one, or the putting down of another.

I am your mo. affectionate Friend,

GEORGE RICHARDS.

VIII.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, August 17, 1807.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: — Your letter of August 10th was received a day or two past; and as every such individual takes a pleasure in the consolations of friendship, I think it my duty to answer your Epistle without loss of time.

Your farewell letter from Salem was duly received, and immediately replied to, directed for Brookfield Post Office, and as you do not advert thereto in this letter, I am led to suppose that you may not have received it.

The particular detail of circumstances that deprived me and my friends of the pleasure of a visit is received with due sensibility, tho' as it respected any . . apology to me, this was totally needless as I am confident that you would have visited [us] had Providence placed it in your power. And if a return is granted to Salem, both myself and my friends will then anxiously wait the fulfilment of your old promise.

The affecting debility and sinking of spirits that you complain of, I think may easily be accounted for. Having long been a faithful attendant on similar complaints, that were daily exhausting the amiable Mrs. T[urner], her feelings, sensations and modes of action became incorperated with your very existence, and like two violins graduated to the same pitch, tho' the one was touched on the nervous bow and the other was seemingly quiescent, yet they mutually vibrated together; and it possibly may be some time yet before these vibrations totally cease. The best mode of rooting them out is

rather more exercise than circumstances then allowed; rather more company than you indulged yourself in at those times; and a more generous diet, such as rare beefsteaks, the natural pieces of young and tender meats, and 2 glasses of good wine, as a stomacher, taken daily; and above all, that change of place which breaks the tone of the melancholic impressions that were thus imposed on the whole system. The all that you are suffering, I think I am perfectly acquainted with. Mrs. Richards and Mrs. Turner, from my knowledge of the one and a descriptive acquaintance with the other, were equally the children of the fine nervous sensibilities; and sympathetic affections so deeply enwove something of the like nature into my frame that, for 2 years after Mrs. R.'s sudden death, I was the subject of all her former complaints, and for the far greater part of the time, it might be said that "all thy billows and thy waves were passing over me, and deep called unto deep at the noise of the water-spouts." Indeed, life became an intolerable burthen; it was a load too grievous to be borne, and the melancholy was so deep that it wanted but little of terminating in settled phrenzy. But at the end of days, it pleased God to relieve me; it was the Lord's doings, and marvellous in mine eyes. It is true that none of these things were felt, while Mrs. R. was alive, in any distressing degree. But this I can easily account for, as attentions to her kept the spirits above sinking in a high-wrought state of daily anxiety. This cause suspended, and such were the effects. And that my theory is partially true appears to be confirmed by another circumstance. I once lost a sister by the confluent purple small-pox. Her death was agonistic in the extreme, and tho' I supported and tended her for 5 days and nights while [she was] journeying on thro' the land of distress, and felt no particular sinking, yet for months afterwards I have heard this dear girl plainly scream in my ear as [I was] walking the streets, and [have] actually turned round to afford her the assistance that I had been accustomed to administer. Thus it is that scenes of this exquisitely affecting nature become one with ourselves; make a part of [our] existence, and at times compose the whole of human life; and the only human means, under God, is to shake them off, as Paul did the viper, and journey elsewhere.

You assure [me] that Salem offers many encouragements, but that as yet you have given the people no positive answer. On this subject, I wrote you specially in my last letter, and as this letter may possibly have miscarried, I will therefore add the substance of my advice, that, as it is generally supposed

that Brother John's [Murray's] days are drawing to a close, and as I feel persuaded that the Bostonians will have their eyes directed towards you, I think it may be prudent not to fix yourself irrevocably at Salem. It is true that Brother M[urray] intends to introduce Mitchell, of New York, and if possible, to leave him settled previous to his departure from this world. But I am certain that his congregation will act for themselves in case of such an event; and that they would prefer you to Mitchell is my desire, and solemn opinion. And as every man has a right to accept the best offer of two, I think it might be wise to wait events in Providence for a time, and to do nothing absolutely binding, in a moment.

The Philadelphians, also, by letter from my friends, have a scheme of another kind in your favor. The Church has settled our old friend, Noah Murray, at 8 dollars per Sabbath, and they wish that Brother John Murray, yourself and myself would mutually agree with them to make an exchange with Noah for 6 months out of 12, and that, while he is preaching here and there, we would supply; and on their part, they promise handsome pecuniary rewards. Whether a scheme of this nature will ever be reduced to practice, or no, is a thing which futurity will determine; but at all events, they are filled with an earnest desire to see you, and wish not to receive a negative to this request. And I may add that John and Noah have acceded to the terms, and they hope we also will.

I rejoice that you propose to attend the Annual Convention; and am pleased at the prospect of having those abilities there that will reflect no disgrace upon the cause. And [I] must beg that, in your arrangements of public exercises, you will assign the gift of prayer to those who cannot preach. As it respects myself, it will be out of my power to attend, altho' you will live in my spirit, and be peculiarly remembered before God on that day.

Your return to Salem is anticipated in hope, and I trust that you will be spared to attend the dedication of the new Meeting House, which will take place in the month of December, if no unforseen Providence should interfere.

I beg you to be attentive to my advice. Take gentle exercise, generous food, and a little good wine. Change place often. . . . . .

I am, with sincere affection;
Your mo. affectionate friend,
GEO. RICHARDS.

IX.

PHILADELPHIA, September 25, 1809.

DEAR SIR: — Your welcome letter of the 19th is duly received. I am glad that Burril acknowledges the receipt of the $6.25, the order I believed, at the moment of its presentation, to be a forgery of the driver's, and I think so still. But let it pass.

We left your hospitable home on Thursday; Friday, set off for Providence; Sunday, preached at Newport; Wednesday, arrived at New York; and Saturday, 1-2 past 1, at Philadelphia, the children and family were all sea-sick excepting Mary Ann. But upon the whole, it was of no disservice, and their health appears to have improved thereby.

Yesterday, I delivered my credentials to the Church, and preached to an immensely crowded house, the fashion is, Morning Service; Afternoons generally omitted, and in their room, Sunday Evening Lectures; and I suppose that, in future, I shall conform thereto.

My furniture arrived last evening, this afternoon, [I] shall repair to my dwelling, South 9th Street, near Spruce.

Pray, let me know of Ballou's arrival at Portsmouth, and of Conventional proceedings. You may soon expect a long letter; and with gratitude for many favors, and the love of all the family to your dear family, believe me to be

Yours most sincerely,

GEO. RICHARDS.

Superscribed, "the Rev. Edward Turner, Salem, Massachusetts."

X.

PHILADELPHIA, November 13, 1809.

DEAR SIR, BROTHER AND FRIEND: — In looking over the memoranda of my letters received and not answered, I find one that has not the signature of reply. It bears date, August 15th, and invites me to your house, your pulpit and your table — of all which having abundantly profited, this may be called the best of possible replies, and therefore [I] shall dismiss this letter with abundance of thanks to the good Mrs. Turner and her husband for abounding civilities and kindness truly fraternal and Christian.

One or two other letters of the same kind and complexion are also on my examined files. But as they were received at

a great press in business attending to manifold avocations, you will therefore accept the lame apology for not writing that I have already offered, and having been a living epistle among you, it is sufficient in reply.

The last letter on file is that of the 19th of October, 1809, to which I have hitherto delayed response, not from want of inclination, but from want of time. In this, you are pleased to inform me that Brother Ballou has accepted of the call at Portsmouth at $800 per annum, with the — contributions, this, I really think, is a better offer than has been made to you as yet, tho' I am persuaded that the Salem Society will not be outdone by the Portsmouth Society, and that if the latter steps beyond the former for a moment, the former will equal the latter in the length of the race.

The installation that was set for the 8th of November, I flatter myself took place accordingly, [12] and from you I wait that account of the solemnities which I trust I shall receive. The people this way are something like good old Jacob — plain people, dwelling in tents, they neither had their Meeting House dedicated, nor their Ministers installed; and whether these things are the effect of pure opposition to the rest of the world, or whether they are common to all the Genii of the South, is a question that I am unable to determine at present, tho' [I] shall pay some attention thereto, and perhaps be able to resolve it in some future letter.

Your invitation to Reading is an excellent anecdote, the clerical fast is still better. I remember to have read of a fast ordained by one Madame Jezebel, in which Naboth was set on high and delivered over to be stoned for blaspheming God and the King; and as this fast was really ordained to smite with the fist of wickedness, so I suspect that you were knocked down by the Clergy as they rose in prayer, and left in their vain opinions like the wounded pilgrim on the plains of Jericho, while you may be sure that neither priest nor Levite paused to pour in wine or oil. I am happy, however, to hear that you repaired thither according to appointment, and think your texts admirably suited to answer the special purpose of assembling together. The first especially gave you a charming opportunity to show how little of the prophets and the law are believed among half mankind.

My people, so called, appear to me as people who have been without a shepherd, and rather averse than otherways to order,

[12] The installation of Rev. Hosea Ballou, at Portsmouth, on which occasion, Mr. Turner preached the sermon.

regularity, or discipline. But I trust that, holding steadfast on my way, I shall be enabled to persuade them that God is a God of order, and that he neither allows of, nor winks at, confusion. The services allotted to me are Morning and Evening, on the Sabbath, and a Lecture on Thursday evening. My own opinion is that two services on the Sabbath would have been preferable; but as the Society had a point to carry — the hope of filling up the Society, I thought it better to bow in the first instance; and when Lectures have lost the charm of novelty, it is my hope that they will revert to the order of usual service with us on forenoons and afternoons: for the great objection which I have against the loss of the afternoon service is, that it is usually spent by too many of all denominations in profligate revelry, such as riding from the Dan to Beersheba of frolic. And these things, tho' we are not totally unaccustomed to them, yet we are far from praising our brethren in this.

I suppose that Brother John [Murray] officiated at Brother Ballou's installation, and with his usual *politesse*[12] praised him to the skies. He is frequently writing to the citizens of Philadelphia, and intimating how happy he should be to see them once more; but circumstances at present forbid them to encourage his coming among them, as they have many debts to extricate themselves from, and considerable to do for me.

Present my love to all the brethren at Salem, and believe me to be With Real Esteem,

Your mo. affectionate friend,

GEO. RICHARDS.

This letter, tho' dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 13th, is post marked, Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 8th, and is inscribed, "the Rev'd Edward Turner, Minister Universal Society, Salem, Massachusetts."

XI.

PHILADELPHIA, February 3d, 1810.

DEAR SIR, BROTHER AND FRIEND: — Your kind letter of December 29, 1809, was duly received in course of mail, and as no opportunity presents of answering it in any other way, [I] shall therefore reply thro' the same medium.

Your kind felicitations on the happiness, prosperity and success of your fellow-servant are received with gratitude. It is true that my people, as we usually call them, are attentive in

[12] A French word signifying overdone politeness.

all temporals to me. But there is not that love towards each other which I could really wish to find among them, and on the most trifling concerns in their Parish-meetings, they oppose each other with a spirit of acrimony which is far from being pleasant. For many years, all their temporal concerns have been managed by a popular democratic assembly, in which and at which every man gave his opinion — more to show his ability, in many cases, than from a wish for the general good. This form is changed at present for a Committee of 13. But they appear to be objects of suspicion, or dread, to the residue of the body, and I think it is probable that, on the revolution of the year, they may change back into the ancient democratic mode of doing business: and this will have a tendency to separate faster than they can unite, or be united.

In point of doctrine, they also appear extremely various.— Many of them, I am led to think really suppose that virtue and vice are the same in essence, and that death levels all distinctions between one and another, and that futurity presents one unclouded scene of glory in the article of death to every individual of the human race.[14] This by no means appears to me as the truth of Divine Revelation. And as I cannot sanction the sentiment, for it appears to me as strengthening the hands of evil doers, I therefore expect some trouble on this account. But [I]hope that wisdom and prudence may be given me from above, and that my imperfect ministry may be rendered profitable to some few.

Have you heard of the decision of the Council in the case of Paine? I pray that, if innocent of the great transgression, it may be proved fully to the conviction of his bitterest enemies. And if guilty, how painful the thought that a Young, a Thomas, a Coffin and so many have fallen around us! May they furnish notices to us for watchfulness, circumspection and zeal, and may the few who stand be holden up of God.

By letter of Mrs. Murray of January 19, I find the dear old father is no better in her apprehension. Any intelligence that you may possess, communicate in your next. Pray, will this

[14] This was quoted in a note to the sketch of Mr. Turner, (Quarterly, April 1871, p. 178,) "as the earliest assertion of what afterwards became Mr. Ballou's doctrine of no future punishment, which I have yet discovered." But since that note was written, I have found in Murray's *Letters* several allusions to this doctrine, without date, and the following under date of July 1791:

"Some persons very seriously suppose that all mankind will be on a level in the article of death. They conceive that it cannot be otherwise, seeing that Jesus abolished death; and they believe that, in the dissolution of the body, the dust returns to the dust, and the spirit to God who gave it." Vol. iii. p. 353.

rather more exercise than circumstances then allowed; rather more company than you indulged yourself in at those times; and a more generous diet, such as rare beefsteaks, the natural pieces of young and tender meats, and 2 glasses of good wine, as a stomacher, taken daily; and above all, that change of place which breaks the tone of the melancholic impressions that were thus imposed on the whole system. The all that you are suffering, I think I am perfectly acquainted with. Mrs. Richards and Mrs. Turner, from my knowledge of the one and a descriptive acquaintance with the other, were equally the children of the fine nervous sensibilities; and sympathetic affections so deeply enwove something of the like nature into my frame that, for 2 years after Mrs. R.'s sudden death, I was the subject of all her former complaints, and for the far greater part of the time, it might be said that "all thy billows and thy waves were passing over me, and deep called unto deep at the noise of the water-spouts." Indeed, life became an intolerable burthen; it was a load too grievous to be borne, and the melancholy was so deep that it wanted but little of terminating in settled phrenzy. But at the end of days, it pleased God to relieve me; it was the Lord's doings, and marvellous in mine eyes. It is true that none of these things were felt, while Mrs. R. was alive, in any distressing degree. But this I can easily account for, as attentions to her kept the spirits above sinking in a high-wrought state of daily anxiety. This cause suspended, and such were the effects. And that my theory is partially true appears to be confirmed by another circumstance. I once lost a sister by the confluent purple small-pox. Her death was agonistic in the extreme, and tho' I supported and tended her for 5 days and nights while [she was] journeying on thro' the land of distress, and felt no particular sinking, yet for months afterwards I have heard this dear girl plainly scream in my ear as [I was] walking the streets, and [have] actually turned round to afford her the assistance that I had been accustomed to administer. Thus it is that scenes of this exquisitely affecting nature become one with ourselves; make a part of [our] existence, and at times compose the whole of human life; and the only human means, under God, is to shake them off, as Paul did the viper, and journey elsewhere.

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Your return to Salem is anticipated in hope, and I trust that you will be spared to attend the dedication of the new Meeting House, which will take place in the month of December, if no unforseen Providence should interfere.

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I am, with sincere affection;
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IX.

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DEAR SIR: — Your welcome letter of the 19th is duly received. I am glad that Burril acknowledges the receipt of the $6.25, the order I believed, at the moment of its presentation, to be a forgery of the driver's, and I think so still. But let it pass.

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My furniture arrived last evening, this afternoon, [I] shall repair to my dwelling, South 9th Street, near Spruce.

Pray, let me know of Ballou's arrival at Portsmouth, and of Conventional proceedings. You may soon expect a long letter; and with gratitude for many favors, and the love of all the family to your dear family, believe me to be

Yours most sincerely,

GEO. RICHARDS.

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X.

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DEAR SIR, BROTHER AND FRIEND: — In looking over the memoranda of my letters received and not answered, I find one that has not the signature of reply. It bears date, August 15th, and invites me to your house, your pulpit and your table — of all which having abundantly profited, this may be called the best of possible replies, and therefore [I] shall dismiss this letter with abundance of thanks to the good Mrs. Turner and her husband for abounding civilities and kindness truly fraternal and Christian.

One or two other letters of the same kind and complexion are also on my examined files. But as they were received at

a great press in business attending to manifold avocations, you will therefore accept the lame apology for not writing that I have already offered, and having been a living epistle among you, it is sufficient in reply.

The last letter on file is that of the 19th of October, 1809, to which I have hitherto delayed response, not from want of inclination, but from want of time. In this, you are pleased to inform me that Brother Ballou has accepted of the call at Portsmouth at $800 per annum, with the — contributions, this, I really think, is a better offer than has been made to you as yet, tho' I am persuaded that the Salem Society will not be outdone by the Portsmouth Society, and that if the latter steps beyond the former for a moment, the former will equal the latter in the length of the race.

The installation that was set for the 8th of November, I flatter myself took place accordingly,[12] and from you I wait that account of the solemnities which I trust I shall receive. The people this way are something like good old Jacob — plain people, dwelling in tents, they neither had their Meeting House dedicated, nor their Ministers installed; and whether these things are the effect of pure opposition to the rest of the world, or whether they are common to all the Genii of the South, is a question that I am unable to determine at present, tho' [I] shall pay some attention thereto, and perhaps be able to resolve it in some future letter.

Your invitation to Reading is an excellent anecdote, the clerical fast is still better. I remember to have read of a fast ordained by one Madame Jezebel, in which Naboth was set on high and delivered over to be stoned for blaspheming God and the King; and as this fast was really ordained to smite with the fist of wickedness, so I suspect that you were knocked down by the Clergy as they rose in prayer, and left in their vain opinions like the wounded pilgrim on the plains of Jericho, while you may be sure that neither priest nor Levite paused to pour in wine or oil. I am happy, however, to hear that you repaired thither according to appointment, and think your texts admirably suited to answer the special purpose of assembling together. The first especially gave you a charming opportunity to show how little of the prophets and the law are believed among half mankind.

My people, so called, appear to me as people who have been without a shepherd, and rather averse than otherways to order,

[12] The installation of Rev. Hosea Ballou, at Portsmouth, on which occasion, Mr. Turner preached the sermon.

regularity, or discipline. But I trust that, holding steadfast on my way, I shall be enabled to persuade them that God is a God of order, and that he neither allows of, nor winks at, confusion. The services allotted to me are Morning and Evening, on the Sabbath, and a Lecture on Thursday evening. My own opinion is that two services on the Sabbath would have been preferable; but as the Society had a point to carry — the hope of filling up the Society, I thought it better to bow in the first instance; and when Lectures have lost the charm of novelty, it is my hope that they will revert to the order of usual service with us on forenoons and afternoons: for the great objection which I have against the loss of the afternoon service is, that it is usually spent by too many of all denominations in profligate revelry, such as riding from the Dan to Beersheba of frolic. And these things, tho' we are not totally unaccustomed to them, yet we are far from praising our brethren in this.

I suppose that Brother John [Murray] officiated at Brother Ballou's installation, and with his usual *politesse*[18] praised him to the skies. He is frequently writing to the citizens of Philadelphia, and intimating how happy he should be to see them once more; but circumstances at present forbid them to encourage his coming among them, as they have many debts to extricate themselves from, and considerable to do for me.

Present my love to all the brethren at Salem, and believe me to be With Real Esteem,

Your mo. affectionate friend,

GEO. RICHARDS.

This letter, tho' dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 13th, is post marked, Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 8th, and is inscribed, "the Rev'd Edward Turner, Minister Universal Society, Salem, Massachusetts."

XI.

PHILADELPHIA, February 3d, 1810.

DEAR SIR, BROTHER AND FRIEND: — Your kind letter of December 29, 1809, was duly received in course of mail, and as no opportunity presents of answering it in any other way, [I] shall therefore reply thro' the same medium.

Your kind felicitations on the happiness, prosperity and success of your fellow-servant are received with gratitude. It is true that my people, as we usually call them, are attentive in

[18] A French word signifying overdone politeness.

all temporals to me. But there is not that love towards each other which I could really wish to find among them, and on the most trifling concerns in their Parish-meetings, they oppose each other with a spirit of acrimony which is far from being pleasant. For many years, all their temporal concerns have been managed by a popular democratic assembly, in which and at which every man gave his opinion — more to show his ability, in many cases, than from a wish for the general good. This form is changed at present for a Committee of 13. But they appear to be objects of suspicion, or dread, to the residue of the body, and I think it is probable that, on the revolution of the year, they may change back into the ancient democratic mode of doing business: and this will have a tendency to separate faster than they can unite, or be united.

In point of doctrine, they also appear extremely various.— Many of them, I am led to think really suppose that virtue and vice are the same in essence, and that death levels all distinctions between one and another, and that futurity presents one unclouded scene of glory in the article of death to every individual of the human race.[14] This by no means appears to me as the truth of Divine Revelation. And as I cannot sanction the sentiment, for it appears to me as strengthening the hands of evil doers, I therefore expect some trouble on this account. But [I]hope that wisdom and prudence may be given me from above, and that my imperfect ministry may be rendered profitable to some few.

Have you heard of the decision of the Council in the case of Paine? I pray that, if innocent of the great transgression, it may be proved fully to the conviction of his bitterest enemies. And if guilty, how painful the thought that a Young, a Thomas, a Coffin and so many have fallen around us! May they furnish notices to us for watchfulness, circumspection and zeal, and may the few who stand be holden up of God.

By letter of Mrs. Murray of January 19, I find the dear old father is no better in her apprehension. Any intelligence that you may possess, communicate in your next. Pray, will this

[14] This was quoted in a note to the sketch of Mr. Turner, (Quarterly, April 1871, p. 178,) "as the earliest assertion of what afterwards became Mr. Ballou's doctrine of no future punishment, which I have yet discovered." But since that note was written, I have found in Murray's *Letters* several allusions to this doctrine, without date, and the following under date of July 1791:

"Some persons very seriously suppose that all mankind will be on a level in the article of death. They conceive that it cannot be otherwise, seeing that Jesus abolished death; and they believe that, in the dissolution of the body, the dust returns to the dust, and the spirit to God who gave it." Vol. iii. p. 353.

Mr. Brooks be settled in total in the event of Brother M's death? or does the Society look up to Brother Ballou? He has often intimated that they did. and I have thought that he looks thither with an anxious eye. Will Ballou leave Portsmouth for Boston, in case of such an event? What is his progress? Has he added to the Society great numbers? or is he simply surrounded by my old friends? These are questions which beneath the seal of Solomon, I can ask of you; and as you feel a freedom, I shall be happy to have them resolved. The reason why is, that, if life should be spared and at the end of my 3 years call I can make an arrangement satisfactory to the feelings of individuals, it is probable that I may close my days in some humble spot in New England, as the manner and habits of the New Englanders suit my feelings much better than those of more Southern realms. But these are only thoughts that pass thro' my mind at present. Perhaps they may never be realized.

I sympathize with my old friend Jacob Walden[15] on the death of his youngest son. As this is the first breach made by death in their family for many years, it must be uncommonly severe to their feelings, and they need a greater power of consolation than others who have been oft times afflicted.

My people also celebrate the 25th.; the simple word, *Saviour*, was my text. The positions, Salvation from sin; Redemption from death, and deliverance out of the hand of the grand Adversary; for as yet, I have not been able with Brother B[allou] to land the Old Gentleman in non-eternity. He really appears to me the spiritual Goliath, who must fall by the arm of David Messiah alone: and of the people, none with him.

As opportunity presents, [I] shall favor you with remarks of what I find worthy of attention in this great city, containing 130,000 inhabitants. But the weather has been so bad that, generally speaking, I have rambled but little, and reserve that for the Spring months. If a chance presents, [I] will forward you one of Neef's [?] Essays on his wonderful school. I propose to visit it as soon as opportunity may offer, when my examination will be close and critical.

I rejoice that your family are in health, and specially, that your dear daughter has recovered from that low state of debility which led me to fear that she might be the victim of deep melancholy.

The weather remained open and without frost of any conse-

[15] A prominent and active member of the Portsmouth Church.

quence until the 18th of January, since which we [have] had it severely cold for this climate,— I am told much colder than has been experienced for many years. The weather with you, as I am informed, has been awfully severe, and some say that, in Portsmouth, it has exceeded 14 degrees below 0. The changes in this climate are very rapid. They assure me that they frequently sow their peas the last of February, and that by the end of May, their cherries are ripe.[16]

With Mrs. Richards' abounding love to Mrs. Turner and family united to my sincerest respects, I am,

My Dear Sir, Your mo. Affectionate Friend,

GEO. RICHARDS.

Superscribed, "Rev'd Edward Turner, Universal Society, Salem, Massachusetts."

XII.

PHILADELPHIA, November 5th, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: — Your welcome epistle of September 24th was received in due course of mail, and it rejoices me that you and Brother Bickford were mutually able to attend the General Convention, and that both were mercifully preserved while absent, and restored to their families and friends in peace.

You mention that Brother Paul Dean preached the introductory sermon. I thought that Brother Dean was under engagement with the people of Utica, or Whitestown, and that he had really gone forward to take up his charge. Pray, has he reconsidered the idea, or does he go thither on the next year? The secondary sermon, delivered by yourself, I have no manner of doubt gave general satisfaction, as on this text I am certain that your *moon* shone in the splendors of the sun, and that the Sun of Righteousness appeared 7 times more glorious in the apprehension of mortals than many of them had hitherto seen him. Brother Carrique, from your account of his admirable sermon and a still more admirable text, must

[16] In order to a just estimate of the value of a sarary of one thousand dollars in Philadelphia at the time these letters were written, we give the following paragraph omitted from the above, showing the cost of certain prime articles of food:

Markets, generally speaking, are high. Turkeys and fowls of all kinds, they sell by piece or pairs, without weight. They commonly cost from 6 cts to 9 cts, and average at least 1 ct a lb. Beef is excessively fat, the cost is usually 9 cts, or 12 1-2 cts. Mutton is excellent, and always cheap—say, 4 to 6 cts. Small pork—fit for roasting—is reasonable, from 8 to 10 cts. As for fish, there is no such thing in its purity, and salt fish is looked upon at Philadelphia, like saw-dust and chips, [as] fit for nobody's table. A prime salmon has sold for 80 dollars.

have afforded great delight to his hearers. I remember to have heard Ballou on this text, and it was certainly a powerful, evangelic discourse. His Conventional Sermon must have had a wonderful effect, for he is peculiarly happy in his defence of the Gospel as he has received it, and more than happy in overturning ancient systems. If he does not always convince by the sarcastic caustic of his blistering plasters, he seldom fails of leaving wounds and bruises and putrifying sores in the leprous body of modern divinity.

It rejoices me exceedingly that you saw cause for the dismissal of the complaint against Brother Paine. But in the manner in which it is entered on your minutes, "that the evidence, as inimical, was pronounced inadmissible," may it not lead the enemy to say that, had it been admitted, it would have been impregnable? Your manner of recording the mode of examination is more correct in my opinion, as you observe "that you went into an elaborate investigation of the charges made against him, and that the evidence as adduced was self-contradictory." With respect to Brother Joab [Young], I think that you have done perfectly right. He has long had all the advantages of reproof. He hardened his neck against the whole, and his sudden destruction without remedy was to be expected. . . . .

I do not find that Ballou was called to the ordination of Mitchell,[17] and as a late letter from Brother John [Murray] expresses his joy at having got rid of a *Socinian, Deistical, Sadducean Universalist*, I have thought whether he did not thus point to a certain neglected individual.

The health of this city has been as great as I ever knew it, or rather, as it ever was known. The Summer has been cool and showery, the 1st of this month and 2d, a severe snow storm for these parts, and cold equal to good skating on the ponds, snow, 6 inches deep.

Poor Riley Upton! I feel for the dear family under their repeated strokes of Divine providential removals, but rejoice in their behalf that they have such a comforter as you are with them, possessing the balsam and the balm of Jesus; and I trust that the wine and the oil will be poured into the wounds of this wounded family by the Great Physician of inestimable value.

By a letter from Rev'd William Bently received on Saturday, he informed me that *John* is approaching to the close of life, (—this, I imagine, must be a mistake for *David*, as my broth-

[17] As colleague with Murray in Boston, Sept. 12, 1810.

er's name is David,) and that he desired him to inform me of the same, and [that] in consequence of this request, he had written a billet in his behalf to Brother Turner, and at present should supply his wants, and see him close his days comfortably. As you are on the spot, and better able to judge of his needs than myself, you will please to apply the enclosed $5.00 in such way of relief as may tend to his best comfort; and if there be any thing more needed, allow him on account of your friend $2.00 per week, and I, Paul, will see it repaid with my own hand. By an early opportunity, let me know his real state, and the state of his family, as [I] have understood that he had one or two sons who were very good children, and that they did all in their power to help support a father and mother. Some small disappointments in the way of cash at the close of my first year's accounts, tho' nothing to complain of, and some necessary helps to my son George, who has unfortunately been out of business for 6 months, with no certain prospects of doing any thing for some time to come, have rendered me a little short at present. But anything that you, or Brother Bently, may do for the immediate supply of a poor brother will be gratefully repaid. And I feel persuaded that this application to you will rather be regarded as the mark of my confidence in your friendship than as the intention of employing an individual to do good, without the design of thankful repayment.

With my best compliments to Mrs. Turner, and kind affections to all the children, I have the pleasure to remain

Your most affectionate Friend and Brother,

GEO. RICHARDS.

XIII.

PHILADELPHIA, September 81, 1811.

REV. EDWARD TURNER:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:— Your favor of August 1, 1811, was received by Brother White, and supposing that you were preparing to press forward to the General Convention, I have not hurried myself much in reply.

I am happy that you have taken my advice as it had respect to the kine-pock, on being fully persuaded in consequence of a severe trial, and from the tests of actual experiments that the kine-pock is an eternal preservature from the small pox, I think it the duty of every individual to choose the least of these two evils. Indeed, the kine-pock can scarcely be considered

as an evil of any kind, and the small pox is frequently an evil of the most serious nature.

It gives me heartfelt pleasure that your Society increases as fast as circumstances admit, and that your evening lectures contribute greatly thereto. For about 1 1-2 years after my arrival in the city, I maintained a weekly evening lecture, more to gratify the Church than to please myself, for — Israel taught me to know that manna itself does not always suit. But as I expected, the lectures wore themselves out of their frequency, and as we have no afternoon service, but regular Sunday evening lectures, these afford a weekly opportunity to ——, and they are as much as this city will bear; for it may be said that Religion is a matter of great convenience with a Philadelphian. When he has nothing under heaven to do, he will condescend to wait upon the Lord, and not else.

Of the *Gospel Visitant*, you may forward me 1 dozen, and also of Ballou and W. and B.,[17] and indeed of any other periodical publication of the Universalist kind. This — I can always dispose of, and if not, I can easily acc't for them.

I am glad that the R[oyal] A[rch] C[hapter] flourishes under your auspices; this is being more fortunate than I am in Philadelphia: for altho' they have done me the honor to appoint me unsolicited as one of their Grand Chaplains, — tho' they knew that I am in possession of the Prestonian Lectures, [and] tho' they they knew that I know they are as ignorant as the King of Ignorance himself, yet they will not learn; and I really believe it is because the proud Philadelphians will not be indebted to a Yankee for knowledge. . . .

Brother White informs me that you propose to visit me. A visit from Brother T. will at all times be peculiarly acceptable. Present Mrs. R's. love to the good Mrs. T. Kiss the children for me, and believe me to be

Your most affectionate friend,
GEO. RICHARDS, No. 149 Pine St.

Superscribed, "Rev'd Edward Turner, Universal Church, Salem, Massachusetts."

XIV.

PHILADELPHIA, May 4, 1812.

REV. EDWARD TURNER:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER — Your favor of December 30 was

[17] Probably Ballou's Correspondence with Walton and Buckminster.

duly received; troubled about many things, I have hitherto delayed an answer, and this must be my apology.

Your letter, to which you refer, announcing M[itchell]'s intended removal was received, and I think with you that the breach of a solemn engagement, as a settlement for life and not at his own request, is an evidence of want of principle. And still there must have been powerful reasons operating in his own mind, as he has certainly accepted of much less in New York than the Bostonians gave him, and consequently by the love of this world is not to be numbered among his failings. Since M[itchell]'s return to New York, I have had occasion to correspond with him in behalf of a family who removed from my pastoral care to his, and I have strove to draw him into an eclaircissement on the subject. But he has carefully avoided any explanation, and therefore I am waiting for the statements which you were kind enough to offer, and which, I am willing to believe, will contain much information respecting a mystery that is not the Mystery of Godliness, unless I am mistaken in moral principles.

At the time I addressed a few lines to you and other brethren respecting my return to New England, it was my real tho't at heart that B[allou] would be positively called to Boston;[18] and in case of such an event, it would have been highly acceptable to me to have returned to New England. But as Brother Dean is to ride in the 2d chariot, and B[allou] remains as he was, I shall strive to content myself where I am, and probadly renounce the idea of [inhabiting?] New England once more—tho' my situation here is far from being as pleasant as I could wish, for there is such a failure on their part in the fulfilment of their monied engagements as gives me serious apprehensions that necessity may be laid upon me to renounce the ministry altogether.

My call expires on the 16th of September. I know it is the wish of the Church so-called to renew my call. But they are so complete a spiritual aristocracy in the centre of a supposed democracy, and so much governed by the caprice of the moment, that I feel afraid to trust them as my masters. Having added to the Church as worshippers and supporters three times the number of pew-holders that there are of church-members, my own opinion is that they ought to be united with me in my 2d call, which must take place, of necessity, on the 16th of September, if my life is spared; and this, I shall make a *sine qua*

[18] As colleague with Murray, after Mitchell's return to New York.

non, unless, in the mutability of a changeable creature, my present opinion of men and things should alter. At the same time, [I] would thank you for your fraternal advice on the following question:—the real no. of Church-members is 70. Of these, about 15 act, and they call themselves the Church in all cases, as there is nobody to contradict them. The pew-holders are more than double the number, these they will not allow to act in any spirituals, tho' they permit them to vote in all temporals. Thus situated, these 15 may dismiss me when they please, which they actually did Noah Murray, without any hearing, as there were but 14 days between his dismissal and my call: a circumstance of which I was completely ignorant until—after my arrival in Philadelphia. The question with me is [as to how?] shall I keep myself out of the power of these 15 unless that I may bring them to some terms as it may respect a 2d call; and whether it would be prudent to accept for a term of years, or simply from year to year, are the questions which I submit to your friendly advice. My own opinion is that the pew-holders, or congregation, would draw off at any moment when I was to request them, and form a new Church by themselves; but this dividing in Jacob and scattering in Israel, I am not proud of, and wish by all means to avoid it if possible, and altho' there has been some chat of this kind, yet I have given no great encouragement thereto, as [I] have tho't it prudent to watch and see how matters may turn.[19] For take them altogether, they are not to be trusted a single moment with any thing secret, as they are certain to divulge it immediately; and they can no more keep their own councils than they can keep the councils of another. In fact, they are a strange kind of people.

My abrupt dismissal from the editorial department of the *Free Mason's Magazine* was something of a trial to my feelings, as I had made this a little sinecure in idea, to answer certain

[19] This secession for the formation of a new Church soon after took place, and, as was seen in the sketch of Mr. Richards, the Church was organized under the name of the *Church of the Restitution*. By the kindness of Rev. A C. Thomas, I have seen its records, from which it appears that the first meeting for organization was held Oct. 19, 1812. The names of 115 persons are given as contributors. The last meeting recorded was on Feb. 22d, 1813. It is doubtful if the organization continued much after this, as Father Ballou tells us, in the sermon on Mr. Richard's death, that "he was attacked with a sickness which *for some time* deprived him of reason," and that, tho' "he so far recovered as to attend to some trifling business, his mind never returned to its former sanity." The records of the Pennsylvania Hospital shew that he was admitted there on account of "Melancholia," Feb. 23d, 1814, and that he died the next week, March 1st.

deficits in the payment of my salary; but as it pleased Providence to take it away from me, no doubt it was designed for the best good of his servant, and I rest perfectly content with the disposal of his all-wise government. The *Magazine* languished——for want of cash to feed upon; and probably had I continued as the editor, it might have occupied much time and turned out finally to no profit. . . . .

By tho way, Brother [20] —— has disposed of the Devil in his father's pond, and I really think Satan is under some obligations [to him] for taking him out of the fire and putting him into the water.

The anatomical dissection of Brother W[orcester]'s sermon is handsomely done. [21] Pray, is it thy writing, or is it the pen of Brother B[allou]?

I find that Jones has abandoned his Sermons in consequence of non-subscribers. . . . .

I am writing while it snows and blows at a tempestuous rate. The season is peculiarly backward.

Pray give me a history of your [Portland?] journey.

The 90 days embargo and War as its follower are the topics which occupy much attention. We have nothing new of any consequence.

Mrs. R. and myself present abundance of love to all your family, and should be happy to see you or them in Philadelphia. I am most cordially,

Yours most sincerely,

GEO. RICHARDS.

[21] The name is in initial, which may be an R, or a K. It would be interesting to know to whom the reference was made, and precisely what was alluded to. I have written to our venerable Father Russell Streeter for an explanation, who replies: —

"Never heard of the exploit before. But without claiming to be an interpreter of dark sayings, I will venture the suggestion that it was Abner Kneeland. A man who could merge Deity in Caloric, and profess to worship accordingly, in 1827, might have done as the extract suggests, 15 years before."

[22] A reference, doubtless, to a review of a Sermon by Rev. Mr. Worcester, of Salem, which appeared in the *Gospel Visitant* for Sept. 1811. Dr. Whittemore attributes it to Mr. Ballou. *Life of Ballou*, Vol. i. pp. 355–358.

Article XVII.

The Gospel Minister.

When the call of God came to Paul it found him intellectually prepared for the work of the gospel ministry. To superior natural gifts were added eminent scholarly attainments. He was a learned man, familiar with the science and philosophy of the world. Beside, he was a man of great enthusiasm, of tremendous energy, of indomitable will. All that was necessary, therefore, to make him a Missionary of the Cross, to qualify him for preaching the gospel in all lands, was simply that he should be turned about, his face set in an opposite direction, his heart won to Christ, and so all his learning, his proud gifts, his strong will, and the unquenchable enthusiasm of his great soul, be given to the cause and the religion of Jesus. It was only needed to make him chief of the Apostles, and to fit him for his august mission, that he should be humbled at the foot of the Cross he despised, his spiritual vision be unsealed, a new experience come to his soul, and that the old heart be turned out to make room for the new heart of love.

A staunch disciple of Edwards was once asked his opinion in relation to effectual preaching. He said he regarded that as effectual preaching which drove a man into the corner of his pew, and made him think the devil was after him! We do not think the preaching of Paul was quite like that. And yet it was very effectual preaching. It was very earnest, very very honest, very plain, and had a wonderful power in it to convince, persuade, awaken—to inspire new thoughts, kindle new emotions, and make the guilty to tremble and be afraid. It was bold, manly preaching, with not a bit of whine or snivel in it; and yet full of a tender and loving spirit. It was the preaching of a man within whose soul the truth as it is in Jesus burned, a living inspiration—who must preach because this truth and his love for it will not let him keep silent—because to him there is nothing so unutterably dear and precious as

the Cross of Christ, for the sake of which he had sacrificed all earthly interests, and was willing to sacrifice even life itself. That which in worldly estimation is of the greatest value, for which men will often barter eternal interests, sell their souls, and make their lives poor and mean, he counted as utterly worthless compared with the religion of his Master, and the crown of triumph and rejoicing which it held out to his enchanted gaze.

From these characteristics of the great Apostle of the Gentiles we learn what the Gospel Preacher should be; what he should preach; how he should preach, or what should be the the end of his preaching.

I. Let us consider what he should be.

Like Paul he should be a man called of God. It may be though that God does not any longer call men to preach His word, or set them apart to the office of the Christian Ministry. Very likely a great many people think this,—that without any divine appointment, any descent of the Holy Ghost, a man may be prepared to preach the gospel, or to stand in Christ's place and speak his words of eternal life. And so it comes to pass that not a few preachers are humanly rather than divinely called. Some are self-called. There is now and then an instance in which a man attempts preaching after having tried almost every thing else and failed,—it is a last resort. He thinks he can preach because he cannot do anything else. If he were called of God it would be true that he could not do any thing else so well. But if he were not divinely chosen to the gospel ministry, then he could succeed better in almost any other calling. Every man is undoubtedly elected to some place which he can fill better than another, or to some work which he can do better than another. And yet there is such a thing as getting into the wrong place—such a thing as mistaking one's election. Farming is one of God's callings. He sets apart men to be farmers, just as much as he does to be doctors, or lawyers, or ministers, or schoolmasters. And He connects nobility with their employment, as well as success, and the growth of a true, manly life. Many foolish people

think, we know, that to till the soil, to care for flocks and herds, to reclaim nature from her wild and uncultivated condition, to fill the land with golden harvests, is low and disreputable; and they look, poor silly things! upon the bronzed face of the farmer, and his homely garb, and hard honest hand, with feelings akin to disgust. And this furnishes the reason why most other professions and callings are so crowded; why young men, even the sons of farmers, are found choosing pursuits for which they have no taste, no fitness; why men are found in the pulpit, in the lawyer's office, and dispensing physic, who ought to be tilling the soil or hammering iron. A good farmer, or mechanic, or even a good ditch-digger, is worth a whole church-full of poor preachers, or any number of poor or mediocre professional men of any kind. There would be less of failure, of poverty and wretchedness, were it not for that foolish pride which causes us to overlook the true nobility of labor, or to go aside from those employments to which we have been wisely elected.

It will be said, of course,—every body will say it, and what every body says in this case is true,—that the preacher should be a good man. Not that every good man is called of God to the work of the Christian Ministry; nor that the preacher, the man who stands up and speaks for Christ, should be good in the sense only of being good natured, inoffensive, very affable, very polite, of whom the ladies should say, "What a dear good man he is!" He should, indeed, be a mild tempered man, with a heart as tender as a woman's. He should abound in all gentle ways, and the very look upon his face should be something like a benediction to God's poor children. But his goodness, after all, should have something of a more substantial sort—it should have a masculine side to it. Perhaps we shall best express our idea by saying, that the religion of Christ in its spirit and not in its letter, should reside in the very centre of his being, and be the inspiration of every movement, and controling law of his life. This will make him to be a man of great firmness of purpose, not to be coaxed or driven from the line of duty. It will make him to be all on fire with zeal for

his Master's cause, put energy and enthusiasm into his work of preaching the gospel, and make a bold, earnest, self-sacrificing, loving-hearted, Consecrated Christian Minister of him. He will be not only kind and gentle of spirit, possessed of the meekness and humility of a little child, his heart overflowing with good will and the love of souls; but he will be like a rock anchored in the sea, alike firm in the calm and in the storm —he will be like Paul, caring for nothing, moved by no earthly consideration, counting not even life dear unto himself, so that he may finish his course with joy, and the ministry he has received of the Lord Jesus, to testify of the gospel of the grace of God.

There is, then, a heart-preparation for the gospel ministry. No man, be he ever so well qualified in other respects, can preach so spiritual a religion as that of the gospel—can preach repentance and the remission of sins and the new birth—can speak words of eternal life to perishing souls—who himself has not been converted and received the gift of the Holy Ghost. It may be, undoubtedly it is true, that when God has called a man to be a preacher of the gospel. He converts him, just as he did Paul—kindles a divine fire in him, and absorbs him with an intense devotion to eternal things. Unless converted, unless he be filled with the very fulness of God, unless he be a self-denying, cross-bearing, Christ-following Christian, one who goes up into the mountain to pray that he may come down refreshed and strengthened for his work, with healing in the touch of his hand, and a divine efficacy even in the hem of his garment, we do not see how he can preach the gospel as it ought to be preached—how, in other words, he can be Christ's minister, speaking for him, and doing his work of mercy and love. He may possess great intellectual gifts, may be a cultured and scholarly man, may be eloquent of speech, an adept in theology, with plenty of head religion; but if his heart has not been turned to God, if in his soul there are no sweet experiences of the divine love, if he has not laid hold upon the riches of the Cross as the dearest treasure he can have; then he must be like any other unconverted man, his

spiritual life poor and hungry and ghostly, and will lack, therefore, the needful preparation for preaching the gospel of Christ.

Intellectual preparation is of course necessary. The preacher cannot be too thoroughly educated. It is all the better if he be a learned man. So far as possible all knowledge should be familiar to him. He should be a student and a learner all his days; a patient, laborious thinker. If God has called him he will be; for the very love of his calling will move him to make it as sure and successful as possible. But learning and thought, intellectual culture and discipline, are not all he needs. He must have heart preparation also. Christ must live and reign within him—the gospel have been to him the power of God unto salvation, in that it has filled him with its righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For how can he feed hungry souls with the bread of heaven when his own soul is unfed? —how can he recommend religion to others? how lead them in its divine paths? how put to their lips its cup of sweetest consolation? when his own religious experience is barren, and his soul is groping in the dark for the way of life, and sorrow with him has no heavenly comforter?

Unquestionably more is now demanded of the Christian Minister than in past days; and yet not more than his calling binds him to be and to do. The activity of the religious mind, the march of intelligence, the diffusion of knowledge among the masses of the people by means of the press and lecture room, the largely increased and increasing number of scholarly men and women in every community,—all these tend to add largely to the burden of ministerial responsibility and labor. And yet if more is demanded of the preacher than in former times; if to be an ambassador for Christ means more than in some other days, and puts a man abreast this age of intellectual light and progress, an earnest, devoted, self-sacrificing disciple of Jesus; it is true, also, that there is more to help, more to encourage, more to inspire, and so to open the way to the highest success, and the achievement of grandest triumphs for the religion of Christ. Hindrances there are, a

plenty; and discouragements, enough of them. It does not lie in the order of Providence that a preacher should get rid of these. His must still be a cross-bearing life, and very likely he ought to thank God for it. But despite all hardship, all tax upon his patience, all mountains of trial, all dark days, all burdening anxieties, all heart-aches, he who studies to show himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed—who to a natural adaptation for the ministry joins learning, zeal, industry, and inflexible determination, baptized with the humble, trustful, loving spirit of his Master, will find his labors highly appreciated, and crowned with abundant success. His influence will be broadly felt. There will be many to work with him and for him; and the fruits of his ministry will be seen in souls redeemed, in hearts enlarged and comforted, and in deaths rendered peaceful and triumphant.

Let me tell the story of a ministerial life: A good many years ago a young man began to preach. He was born and reared among the granite hills of New Hampshire. His father was a Baptist minister, and the son had been a member of a Baptist church, and only just expelled; not because his christian character was impure, but because he believed with Paul that God is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe. Up to this time he had listened only to Baptist sermons, and no doubt they were good ones; but he had been reading and studying the Bible anew, and the Book, when he got down below the letter, was too much for the sermons. It converted him to a better faith; it let in a great and glad light upon his soul. The young man, like every one whom God really calls and converts, could not keep his conversion and his new joy to himself. He could not help himself—he must speak out if he died for it. So he told of what God had done for him, of the opening heaven and the enrapturing vision. Then the Church excommunicated him. But it could not turn him out of the great broad Church of Christ. It is not asked there what a man's creed is, only whether he believes in the Saviour of sinners, and whether he loves God and his fellow men. He may be a Universalist, or Methodist, or Baptist, and still have

no place there; and he may be any one of these, or neither of them, and have his name written in the Lamb's Book of Life.

With this new truth burning with his soul, the young man felt an unconquerable desire to impart a knowledge of it to others. We see that God had called him. So with only the preparation furnished by a life among the rocks and hills, and by an academical education, and the devout study of the Holy Scriptures, and a heart graciously affected and influenced, he went out to preach the everlasting gospel. And some how he had a rare gift for preaching, just as though he had been born full of sermons, and had but to open his mouth and out they came. Real living sermons they were, too, and like well-aimed arrows went straight to their mark. They took fast hold of men, and could not be shaken off.

This young man went out to preach because God called him. He itinerated up and down in the land, preaching in barns and groves, and private houses, and by the way-side. The churches opposed him, and called him bad names. Bigotry smote and buffeted him in all possible ways, and the little dogs of sectarian spite and malice barked and snapped at his heels. But his word grew and flourished, and under God he became the founder and master-builder of one of the foremost Churches of to-day. He is dead! and yet he lives and speaks in all the land; and the memory of his great labors and eminent virtues can never perish among us. May every minister of Christ be as obedient to the heavenly vision as was FATHER BALLOU,—once a devoted herald of the Cross on the earth, and now a rejoicing saint in heaven.

II. Let us now turn to consider what is the work of the Gospel Preacher—what he should preach.

It seems clear that called of God to preach the gospel, he will preach that, and nothing else. He will preach it as he comprehends it, in the form in which faith revealed it to his soul. Undoubtedly there is but one true gospel, as there is but one true Church of Christ. And though it may be that we all see the same truth with the eye of faith, yet when we come to make a formal statement of what we all alike see, to

put our seeing into words, and our words into a creed, we differ, and sometimes get very far apart. We hear a great deal said about Evangelical doctrines. A certain number of sects have taken it upon themselves to air their conceit by saying, "Our doctrines are exclusively evangelical." But what are evangelical doctrines save those that are accordant with the sublime song the angels sang at the birth of Jesus, or with the spirit of his teachings and the glad tidings which he published? And who are evangelical Christians but they who hear Christ, and believe in Him, and follow Him? The more love and good will either of them posesses, the deeper and diviner the response to the angelic outburst of joy, the more evangelic they will be. In the light of this definition it is clear that the test of evangelic doctrines is in the joy and comfort they bring to the soul of believing man. Christ said, "Come unto me all ye that weary and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." He was the great Evangelical Teacher. And those doctrines which best express the spirit that was in him, that reveal him most clearly to the believing souls of men, that go farthest in solving for us the mysteries of life, that open to us brightest views of the world to come, and gladden with sweetest visions of everlasting rest and peace, must be nearest evangelical. They come nearest to what Christ's message was—to what his whole religion is—good news for all people.

These, then, are what the gospel preacher should preach. He will aim to preach them. He will see that they are what God has called him to preach. If we were to put it into our form of words, we would say that he ought to preach Universalism; for this assuredly is the divinest, the most evangelical interpretation ever put upon the gospel. It is fast growing into a universal belief; is being rapidly adopted by the Protestant World. Denounced as it may be, sneered at as it sometimes is, injured so often in the house of its friends—the fact remains that it alone can fully satisfy. The mourner wants it. Every hungry, struggling, perishing soul wants it. It alone can answer the prayers of the Christian heart.

May we not then say—are we not authorized to say—that

the gospel preacher ought to preach, that God is calling him to preach, that sick and hungry souls are pleading with him to preach, this gospel of mercy and grace? this most beautiful interpretation ever put upon the words of Jesus? How else can he minister fully to life's wants and woes? lift burdens from weary and sad hearts? pour light upon dark and awful mysteries? save by preaching that gospel which has love for its grand central principle and spirit and theme? Look every where at the sick beds and the opening graves! at the parting anguish, and the life-long sorrow for the dead! See the infant bud, plucked from the parent stalk, faded and lifeless! See childhood, with the playthings of yesterday scarcely laid aside, wrapped in its winding-sheet, the light gone out from his eyes, and the music of his voice hushed in death's strange silence! There is the vacant cradle, and the empty chair; and lying away with other mementoes we have enshrined is a silken ringlet cut from a sweet head long since gone to ashes! How full of sad and tearful memories are hearts all around us! And when they come to the Christian minister for relief from their painful burdens, when they would know what is the meaning of all this, why this arrangement under which human hopes are wrecked and human hearts are broken, what shall he say to them? what kind of a gospel shall he preach?

On the morning after the loss of the Steamer Lady Elgin and her three hundred passengers, a sweet little babe was found stark and cold upon the sands where it had been cast by the sea. It may have been sleeping warmly upon a mother's bosom when the terrible moment came, and so, clasped tightly there by a mother's arms, have gone down into the waves, and there died. In the morning after that stormy night it was alone upon the beach, with no mother to bend over it, and prepare it for its burial with the holy baptism of a mother's tears. Will it be alone in heaven, that sweet, dead babe upon the sands? will it have no mother there? will the stormy waves of Michigan have separated the mother and her child forever? There is another question that will come up—in one

form or another it is a question asked of the Christian minister every day, and souls with awful shadows upon them are pleading with him for an answer: What had this innocent babe done that it should be exposed to such a fate? Why should it come into the world, live a few days, and then suddenly perish? perish by shipwreck upon a stormy sea? This is a reverent question. It comes from hearts that seek relief from their burden of doubt and mystery. How shall the Christian minister answer this question? how, but by preaching the gospel as interpreted by the Universalist Faith; thus vindicating the ways of God to men? And how else can he so surely win souls to God? how else so well bring men to Christ, and give them faith in him, and so convert them from their scepticism, their despair, their irreligion and sin, and make trustful, working, growing, heavenward-climbing Christians of them? We cannot see how else. And if he fails in securing these results, if his ministry is barren of these fruits, the fault must be in him, or in those to whom he ministers, and not in the gospel of the grace of God which he preaches.

III. How then, or to what end, ought the Christian minister to preach?

It may be thought that it is a mere waste of words to ask such a question; that if a man is called of God to the gospel ministry, and has such a glorious gospel to preach—he will so preach, so lift up the cross, so open heaven with his words of eternal life, so adapt himself to the needs of hungry, fainting, sorrowing, sinful souls, as that the end of preaching will surely be attained, souls be new-born, and found walking and talking with Jesus every day. No doubt there is much preaching of this effectual sort, because back of it is a determination, as in the case of Paul, to know nothing among the congregations of the people save Jesus Christ and him crucified. And so the faith of converted souls stands, not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God; and therefore is a faith that redeems, gladdens, sanctifies, and fits its subjects for heaven.

But there is a great deal of preaching in our time that has very little of Christ in it. Indeed, there are some who think,

that if Christ were to be exhibited altogether from our preaching it would be more attractive, more powerful, and accomplish more good. We know, too, that there are those who preach a gospel that has no saviour in it. So here and there we get a preaching that is full of excellency of speech and of worldly knowledge—full of glitter, and tinsel, and ornament; very fine in its composition, and that makes men and women say, "What a splendid sermon!" But the trouble is, that while it is a very beautiful, very eloquent, of great literary excellence, it sends no sorrowing home to pray, sends no sinner weeping to the foot of the cross, feeds no soul that famishes for lack of the bread of heaven.

It is to be feared that we have been preaching too much to the heads, and too little to the hearts of men. We have a great deal of brain religion among our people, an abundance of strong, intelligent conviction and belief: but a sad lack of vital, experimental piety, of Christian consecration, of lives that shine like the sun upon the Mount of Transfiguration. And this includes, of course, a lack of the spirit that sends the disciple out into the gospel field to work for Christ, that makes him open-handed, and fills his life with cheerful labors for his Church, for the Sunday School, for the cause of Education, and all that helps save men and glorify God.

Of all sad sights, a cold, indifferent, sleepy, half-dead Universalist, in whose soul the divinest faith ever given to man has kindled no new life, no enthusiasm, no holy rapture, is the saddest. Angels must weep over it. And yet how many unconverted Universalists there are, waiting, it would seem, for God to meet them, as He met Saul of Tarsus, and to turn their hearts with a flash of His power toward heaven; blind to the fact that God meets them every day, and that Christ ever stands at the door and knocks. What is needed, therefore, is this—that our gospel be preached, not alone as something to be believed, something for the head, but as an element of life, a spiritual force, to work in the souls of men for their conversion to God; that it be be so preached, with such directness, such earnestness, such eloquence of deep feeling, as that

our people shall no longer be, what too many of them are, "religiously unawakened, neglectful of the Bible, and of prayer, and of the Sabbath, and satisfied to live outside of the Church, as though there were no God, no Saviour, no Christian obligation, no joy of a regenerate life," and they had no souls to be wronged and to perish with hunger! The end of preaching is not head religion, but heart religion—the vitalizing of faith in the soul, so that the believer shall be helped by it, inspired by it, to live a life of consecration and prayer, a life full of cheerful labors and sacrifices in behalf of the cause of Christ.

To stand in the Master's place, to be his minister, called to preach his gospel to sinful, sorrowing, dying men,—what a responsible position! What preparation is required of such a one! How full should be the measure of his Christian discipleship! With what earnestness and unfaltering purpose he should enter upon his work, and prosecute it! How complete should be his consecration to his sacred calling? so complete that he should not be moved by any of the hard and bitter things he will sometimes encounter; nor even count his life dear unto himself. There is that which is to be esteemed dearer than life; it is that he may finish his course with joy, and the ministry he has received of the Lord Jesus to testify of the gospel of the grace of God.

A course and ministry finished with joy—to be able to look back when the end comes, to review the years devoted to labors for Christ, and see that work has been well done, that he has gloried only in the cross of the Saviour, that he has fought the good fight, and kept the faith, and that there is now laid up for him in heaven a fadeless crown—what more can a man desire than this? into what poor and worthless things do the highest earthly rewards fade in the comparison?

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Three Gregories.

We fix on this number because there are only *three* bearing this name in whom we have any special denominational interest, viz: Gregory Thaumaturgus, A. D. 240–270; Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 360–390; and Gregory Nyssen, 370–400. And this article is written because these Fathers of the Church are so frequently mistaken one for another, especially the last two; who are alike set down as Universalists.

In a sermon recently published, "The Religion of the Future" by Rev. D. M. Hodge — a very thoughtful and useful production, and suited to the times—the author on page 21, associates Gregory Nazianzen with Origen and Clement of Alexandria as a Universalist; and on the same page credits to him a quotation taken from Gregory Nyssen, in which he asserts the extermination of all evil, and the restoration of all souls to God. And in a recent notice of the new edition of Dr. Ballou's "Ancient History" a correspondent of the *New Covenant* makes a similar mistake, putting Gregory Nazianzen for Gregory Nyssen. And even Dr. Priestly, in his "Corruptions of Christianity," falls into a similar error; with him probably only a momentary slip of memory. He says, "it was the opinion of Origen and Gregory Nazianzen that the wicked, after being thus punished (by fire) according to their deserts, would come out purified, and obtain mercy." Gregory Nazianzen never states this as his opinion positively, but Gregory Nyssen repeatedly affirms it. A few words of information respecting the Gregories severally.

1. *Gregory Thaumaturgus.* This name of Thaumaturgus, or Wonder-worker, was given to him, after his death, because of a tradition that he wrought several wonderful miracles. He studied law at Athens and Alexandria for some time, and afterward became a pupil of Origen; was ordained somewhere about the year 240; and finally became Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea. He attained to great celebrity as an eloquent preacher, and for the great number of converts which he made among the heathen. It is said that when he went to Neo-Cæs-

area there were only seventeen Christians there, and when he left only seventeen Pagans.

His only remaining works are a *Panegyrical Oration in praise of Origen*, which Dupin reckons "one of the finest pieces of rhetoric in all antiquity"; a *Paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes;* and a *Canonical Epistle*, addressed to an anonymous bishop.

Dr. Ballou thinks that Rufinus, in his Invective against Jerome, intimates that he believed in the Restoration of all; inasmuch as, when speaking of the Universalism of Origen, he says it was notorious that Gregory erred with him. The inference seems not an unreasonable one, especially when we remember that he was a pupil of Origen.

2. *Gregory Nazianzen* was born somewhere about A. D. 330. He too studied at Alexandria, and finished his education at Athens. He was a fellow student of Julian the apostate emperor, and seems to have understood his character, remarking to a friend, "How great a scourge is here in training for the Roman empire." He was ordained by his father, and spent six or seven years in pastoral labor at Nazianzen. He was appointed Bishop of Constantinople, that he might defend the cause of Orthodoxy against the triumphant Arians. At first obliged to preach in private houses, as the Trinitarians had not a single church in the imperial city, the faithful afterward built a spacious edifice, and called it *Anastasia*, or "The Church of the Resurrection," significant of the revival of the Orthodox faith under his preaching. It was here that he received the name of "The Theologian," on account of the extent and profundity of the learning he displayed in defence of the Nicene creed. However, in consequence of the intrigues and hatred of his enemies he finally resigned his charge, and retired to Nazianzen for quiet and meditation, where he died A. D. 389. His ashes were removed to Constantinople, and afterward to Rome. He was regarded as one of the most finished and eloquent orators and writers of the 4th century, ranking next to Basil and Chrysostom.

As to his Universalism, it seems never to have been a matter of absolute faith with him. If he believed it at all, it was only half belief —sometimes inclined that way, and at other times in the opposite direction, asserting that future punishments were vindictive, designed solely as penal torments, and not for correction or purification; and that there was no place after death for confession or reformation. Dr. Ballou has given us the following passage from his writings illustrative of the unsettled condition of his mind on this question:

"I have mentioned the purifying fire which Christ came to kindle on the earth, who is himself figuratively called *fire*. It is the nature of his fire to consume the grosser matter, or vicious character, of the mind. But there is also another sort of fire, not of purgation, but intended for a vindictive punishment of wickedness; whether it be that of Sodom, which, mixed with sulphur and storm, God pours upon all sinners; or that which is prepared for the devil and his angels; or even that which proceeds before the face of the Lord; or lastly, that more formidable than all, which is connected with the unsleeping worm, and is never extinguished, but is continual and everlasting for the punishment of wicked men. It is the nature of all these to ruin and destroy; *unless, however, one may suppose that the fire, in this case also, is to be understood more moderately, and as is worthy indeed of the God who punishes.*"

Speaking of certain heretics he says "*perhaps* they may be baptized in the next world with fire, which shall feed on the dull matter, as on hay, till it shall have consumed all their sins." It is evident that while he did not fully believe, he *hoped* that it might be so.

3. *Gregory Nyssen* was brother of Basil the Great, and was made Bishop of Nyssa in Capadocia, in the year 372. In consequence of the hostility of the Arians he was deposed by the emperor Valens, and went into retirement where he remained until the death of Valens, when he was restored to his See by his successor. In 379 he was sent on a mission to the churches of Arabia and Palestine by the Council of Antioch; and two years after was chosen by the Council of Constantinople as a judge of the orthodoxy of certain churches in Pontus. He took so important a part in the councils held in that city in 382 and 383, that the honorable title of Metropolitan was unanimously conferred on him. The second Nicæan council also gave him the pre-eminent title of *Pater Patrum*. He is held as a saint by the Church, the Latins celebrating the day of Gregory on the 10th of January, and the Greeks on the 9th of March.

All these things are important when we associate with them the fact of Gregory's positive and avowed Universalism. The great doctrine of the ἀποκατάστασις or Restoration is taught by him in the clearest and most unqualified language, and illustrated and demonstrated with equal logic and learning in works written expressly for this purpose, as was shown in the QUARTERLY for April, 1872. We need not repeat here the passages given in that article; but we give an additional testimony cited in the "Ancient History of Universalism:"

"I believe that punishment will be administered in proportion to each one's corruptness. . . . Therefore to whom there is much corruption attached, with him it is necessary that the purgatorial flame which is to consume it should be great, and of long duration; but to him in whom the wicked disposition has been already in part subjected, a proportionate degree of that sharper and more vehement punishment shall be remitted. All evil, however, must at length be entirely removed from everything, so that it shall no more exist. For such being the nature of sin that it cannot exist without a corrupt motive, it must of course be perfectly dissolved, and wholly destroyed so that nothing can remain a receptacle of it, when all motive and influence shall spring from God alone," &c. *De Anima et Resurrectione.*

One other remarkable statement of Gregory's we cannot refuse to name in closing. He says, "Whoever considers the divine power will plainly perceive that it is able at length to restore, *by means of the everlasting purgation and expiatory sufferings*, those who have gone even to this extremity of wickedness." In this use of *aionios*, or "everlasting," we see, not only that it does not mean endless duration, but that it is by means of this very *everlasting* fire that the wicked are to be purified and saved!

The Mission of Sects.

Truth, though one and the same always and everywhere, presents different aspects to different beholders, answering to the time, and to the different points of observation from which they look at it. It has many parts, and one plants himself on this part, and another on that. One advocates and pushes forward one portion; and another defends and develops another, different from the first, but equally important. Each man, each sect has a fragment of the Truth, which it labors to establish and make practical. So far it is right, and deserving approbation. But when it puts this fragment in the place of the whole — when it affirms that this is all, and that other sects have not also their portions of Truth, then doubtless, it is wrong. We may readily believe that God has given some portion of the truth to every sect, some great idea, which it is its mission to guard, unfold and enforce. But if any sect take its stand on this as *the* idea exclusively, the only one acknowledged of God, or important to the world, then it errs, is blinded by over zeal, and shows itself ignorant of God's method of dealing with men. And if it go beyond this, and denounce all other

sects, denying their claims to any parts or fragments of Truth. Then it becomes intolerant, narrow and false.

This, perhaps, is the great error of sects. Each claims to be *the Church*, the whole body of Christ, and is too proud to be called only a member of that body. Or if at last it consent to this it claims that the body shall be one member, and not many. It will have all other sects absorbed in itself; and all who are saved, must be saved in its peculiar way. To it there is but one idea in Christ or Christianity; but one special work. For this all things were made. To this all things must bend. In this direction only God is seen. By this way only Heaven is reached. And all who do not labor directly for this, and this alone, work to no purpose. They are enemies of God; cumberers of the ground; dead-weights on the church; triflers, fools, children of the devil!

This is the error of all sects. Without doubt *the* church, in the great and divine meaning of the word, is the body of Him who filleth all in all. But no one sect has a right to claim that it is *the* church, in this sense — for, manifestly, if it were so, the church would *not* be the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. We may believe every one of these is a member in particular of the church of Christ. Each one has, as we have said, a portion but not all of the truth. Each has its idea, its Christian doctrine or precept, on which it is grounded. Its mission is to develop and establish that among the nations, and in the hearts of men. These all may have different orbits, eccentric, and even crossing each other at some points; but they all revolve around the same central sun. They may differ in size, density and appearance; but they are all members of the same system, parts of one stupendous, all embracing whole!

Catholicism preserves and defends this grand idea of the unity of the Christian faith and life; while Protestantism plants itself on the equally grand principle of individual freedom and accountability. The Calvinist boldly and stoutly maintains that God is Master of the world and all events, foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass; while the Arminian adds to this fragment of Truth another fragment, seemingly though not really irreconcileable, the freedom of the human will, and of man's actions. These men have only seen opposites sides of the same truth. The Unitarian urges incessantly the unity of God, and the Sonship of Christ. This is his part of the work; while the Trinitarian is careful that Christ shall not be robbed of his pre-eminence, nor the Holy Spirit of its office. Leaving these to their pecu-

liar work, the Universalist ever lifts his clarion voice in the defence and illustration of the great truth that God is the Father, and through Christ the final Saviour of all. The follower of Luther exalts Faith above all else, as the only means of justification; while another class declares works all—life the essential thing. The Rationalist takes good care that reason, God's best gift to man, is not overpowered by superstition, or mere authority; while the Conservative, with equal zeal and reason, maintains that the very instincts of our nature lead us to ask for help, to rely on authority; and that nine-tenths of the knowledge of nine-tenths of the world, rests on authority. The Quaker and transcendentalist preserve the beautiful and encouraging truth that God still, as of old, gives his spirit to bless and guide every waiting and true soul; while the believer in the miraculous character of Christianity, takes position on the historical fact that God has spoken special truth in a special way through Christ, and witnessed to it through miracles wrought by the hand of Christ.

Now all these are right, so far as they go. Each speaks truth, but not the same truth, not all truth; and the error lies in each denying that the others speak truth also. God has given to each one his office and duty. No one sect could do justice to all these truths at once. So Heaven has distributed the labor, and appointed to each its share of the work; which, for this distribution, will in its parts, and as a whole, be the better done. If all were one sect, standing on one of these great principles, and working for its development, then only this would get forward; and the others, equally important in themselves and in their influence on mankind, would be neglected and forgotten. The balance would thus be lost. But as it is ordered now by a higher wisdom than ours, no one of these great truths is lost sight of. Each gathers about it its army of defenders and advocates; and so holds its place, and exerts its power. The just balance is preserved. The whole body is perfected.

Faith and Reason meet together, and are mutually profited by the interview. Science which demands a reason for all things, and superstition which believes all things without asking any questions, keep each other in check. Faith which insists on the importance of doctrine, and works which insist that a good life is all that is needful, together illustrate a great truth. The Trinitarian maintains the prerogatives of Christ, and the Unitarian the supremacy of God. The Orthodox warns by the judgment, and the Universalist encourages by the love, of God. The philosopher sees God in Nature, and the

Christian sees God in the Bible. So each speaking his part, the whole truth gets utterance at last — not in our way, perhaps; but in God's way, which, on the whole, will, without question, be found to be the best way.

As to the errors of doctrine mingled with the truth; while of course we are to have no fellowship with these, and to oppose them in every lawful and Christian way, we may rejoice that they cannot live always. All error, and falsehood, is self-destructive in its very nature, and in the end must perish. But whatsoever of truth each sect has in faith or practice—this will live forever. And more and more as light and knowledge increase, it will separate itself from the error, and attract, and be attracted by, the truth held by all the other sects. Thus by the law of affinity and spiritual gravitation, all truth, and all sects, will be drawn gradually nearer together, till at last they unite in a common centre, on which shall be poured down the bright effulgence of the wisdom and the glory of God. Then, no longer resting in a fragment of the Truth, but embracing it in all its harmonious and perfected beauty, all sects together, and all the souls that God has made, in oneness of faith and love, shall rejoice forevermore in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ!

What is the Object of Punishment?

"To say that the end of all punishment is restorative, and that eternal punishment would therefore defeat its own end, is pure assumption, unsustained either by the sound judgment of men, or by the Word of God. The primary intent of punishment is the general safety and welfare of society and the vindication of the insulted majesty of the violated law; the restoration of the offender by the punitive process to virtue and obedience is often present indeed,—always when possible—but always as a subordinate element. It has no place at all in the *legal* idea of penalty. This is the common judgment of the world as expressed in its treatises on law and government."[1]

The great error which runs through and vitiates this and all kindred arguments, is the making human laws and penalties the standard by which to measure divine laws and penalties. Mr. Dexter, and those from whom he borrows this argument, affirm that human governments and judges inflict punishment on the transgressor for a certain reason; and then insist that God must, therefore, inflict punish-

[1] Verdict of Reason, &c. By Rev. H. M. Dexter.

ment on his disobedient children for the same reason. And thus they bring God's government, and his motives of action down to a level with the government and motives of man; instead of seeking to bring the government, actions and motives of man up to the level of the Divine.

The true method, it seems to us, would be to ascertain the nature and object of the divine laws and penalties, the true aim and purpose of the government of God, and then urge the importance and necessity of bringing our laws and punishments into conformity with his. The Divine should be the standard, the level from which all argument should start out; and human legislation should be counted righteous and satisfactory just in the ratio that it approaches this, and accomplishes its beneficent results.

And indeed is not this the feeling and the belief that are already stirring in the hearts of the people? Is not the conviction taking deeper root from year to year in the public conscience, that our laws and punishments have been faulty in exactly this direction; that they have not insisted sufficiently on the corrective action and aim which mark the penalties of divine infliction; in a word, that they have not been in harmony with the Christian law; that our prisons and penal institutions have had in them too much of the earthly legal, and too little of the beneficent spirit of the Gospel?

If it be not so, what is the meaning of these manifold reforms in penal legislation within the last century? Why is it that so many of the ancient modes of punishment have been abolished by law, or allowed to fall into disuse? Why is it that within a few years there has been such a radical change in regard to prison discipline? Why is it that Reform Schools and Mission Schools for vagrant children are taking the place of jails and penitentiaries? Precisely because the corrective principle which should underlie all human punitive legislation, as it does all divine, has been lost sight of. Precisely because the world leads the Church, and the people see more speedily and more clearly than their religious teachers, the true ends of law and government.

It has been the common belief of legislators and rulers and judges, that the more stringent the law, and the more terrible the punishment, the more secure the government, and the entire social fabric. But this cruel error is passing away, and daily the statute book is taking on a more humane and Christian look; and the rigors of the

prison and the dungeon are softened by philanthropic efforts to convict and restore the criminal to himself and to society.

Of course we do not pretend that example, and the maintenance of law and order, have no proper place in legislation, that they are not legitimate objects to be sought in the administration of punishment. But what we mean to say is that in all true government, in all the penalties enacted on the divine model, they are relative to the main design, and never exclude it. Punishment as example recognizes the value of the law, and its direct relation to the general good; and in this general good is *always* included the individual good of the sufferer. Nothing but good has any right to be, and the only claim which the law has to existence, and to the obedience of any one, lies in this fact—that its object and aim are universal good.

And no legislation can now safely ignore this principle, nor refuse to recognize the paternal element of all just government. Nay, there is a price we are not willing to pay even for the maintenance of law itself; there is a point at which the reflex action of barbarous punishments on the sympathies and morals of the community, is felt to be a greater evil than the violation of the law.

For example: Damiens, who attempted to assassinate Louis XV, was tortured on the rack, in one of the great squares of Paris, in a most horrible manner. His right hand, within which was fastened the murderous knife, was burnt in a slow fire. Then the most tender and sensitive parts of his body were torn with red-hot pincers, and into the gaping wounds were poured melted lead, oil and rosin. And after this he was torn asunder by four horses attached to his legs and arms. And then the rabble seized the quivering limbs and dragged them through the streets.

This was in 1757. Does any one suppose that such an exhibition of devilish ferocity would be tolerated on Boston Common in 1872? But why not, if, as Mr. Dexter says, the primary intent of punishment is the general safety, and the vindication of the insulted majesty of the law? and especially if the common theological opinion is correct, that the more terrible the punishment, the greater the restraint and security; and that therefore endless punishment being the greatest of all is the most restraining!

But why, we ask again, why not have these exhibitions as a terror to evil-doers in these days? Why should the community be shocked with such things now? Has the world improved in civilization, in

humanity, since 1757, or has it retrograded? Are we more or less Christian now than then? Are our governments and laws and punishments approaching nearer to the divine standard, or receding yearly farther from it?

It is easy to answer these questions, and the answer shows that in the same ratio that governments approach the Christian standard, and are pervaded with the Christian spirit, they abandon cruel punishments—and that even law is not to be maintained at the price of cruelties and barbarities inflicted on the offender. As Blackstone justly says, "Though the end of punishment is to deter men from offending, it never can follow from thence that it is lawful to deter them at any rate and by any means; since there may be unlawful methods of enforcing obedience."

Perhaps some of our readers shudder and sicken at the horrible barbarities inflicted on the French regicide — but, after all, what are they compared with the tortures and agonies of hell? Less than the dust in the balance weighed against the entire material universe. Who doubts this let him read the descriptions of the horrible tortures inflicted on the damned as given by Jeremy Taylor, Edwards, Watson, Griffin, Goodwin, Drexelius, Calvin, Pollock, and scores of others who have painted the lurid horrors of hell as believed by Dr. Dexter and those in sympathy with him.

If it be said that these are exaggerated descriptions, we answer that they are *not*. It is *impossible* to exaggerate the monstrousness of a soul abandoned to hopeless, endless sin and torment and despair by the God who gave it being. Beside, to say that these are exaggerations, that hell is not so dreadful as set forth by these eminent theologians, is virtually an abandonment of the argument in hand, viz: that punishment is primarily for example, as a terror to evil doers. It is simply admitting the very point we seek to establish — that cruelty, barbarity in legal penalty is not justifiable on any ground; that all punishment must have a beneficent element in it; and that therefore the doctrine of endless punishment is alike a libel on the character of God, and on the justice, as well as benevolence, of his government.

Conscience and its Judgments.

THE following in regard to the sure awards of Conscience is from the "Biblical Repository" for Jan., 1843, and is worthy of preserva-

tion as an illustration of the manner in which even Orthodoxy testifies to the certainty of a present retribution for sin when she lays aside her creed, and looks in the face the facts of human experience. Nothing is more fully established by an unvarying testimony from those who have had experience, than that which is here set forth, viz:— That the laws of God in the moral world will vindicate their claims as strictly and certainly, as his laws in the physical and organic world. In every instance a corrupt moral atmosphere will beget disease in the moral system. Sin is not the element in which the soul can live and continually grow in vigor and strength, and gather into itself the blessed influences of faith, and peace, and joy. If the disease is at the heart, its terrible pains and agonies will surely be felt to the utmost extremities. But without farther preface or comment let us listen to the statements of the witness summoned:

"Take the transgressor, of whatever character, and interrogate him in relation to the thoughts of his mind and the feelings of his heart. What painful forebodings, what agitation and perturbation of spirit! What seasons of gloom and dejection oppress and distress him! To the eye of man, he seems gay and full of glee, but could we enter his heart, what crowds of envyings, and fears, and jealousies, should we find distract him in his retirement!

The youthful drunkard does, indeed, as he quaffs his cups and raises the lewd and boastful song, vainly think himself happy; but when recovering from his debauch, and beginning to reflect on his conduct, who would envy him his feelings? How does his eye drop before the gaze of purity and innocence, and his cheek grow red with blushes, when reminded of his bachanalian exploits! How often does remorse torment him, and his conscience fill him with self-reproach, when he reaps the pain which his excess secures in his own body, or the misery which it inflicts on his wife, and parents, and children, whom he has disgraced and degraded by his crimes! His stomach, gorged and sickened by excess, does not more loathe its food, than does he loathe himself. Unhappiness attends him at every step. His friends desert him—his children despise him—his neighbors refuse to trust him—his property slips from his grasp—his debts accumulate and molest him—and the farther he pursues his soul-destroying appetite, the more does he sink degraded in his own estimation. What is all this but the voice of God, proclaiming to him, that he cannot thus violate his laws with impunity?

In like manner, the gambler and the seducer, the avaricious and the fraudulent, the lustful and unclean, have all their inward woes, at times, when the keen and cutting reproaches of conscience overwhelm them. These are the proofs which God is giving, that his law must be honored, and that he will not compromise its claims. All the misery in the world is the result of its violation."

Maximus Confessor—A Universalist.

Maximus was born A.D., 580, and died A.D., 662. He belonged to a noble family, and was the Secretary of the Emperor *Heraclius*, who had selected him to write the civil history of his times; but owing to a disagreement between them on the question of Monotheletism, he left the imperial court, and took up his abode in a monastery near Constantinople, of which he became abbot. About the year 640 he began to travel, and visiting Egypt held some sharp discussions with the leading advocates of the Monotheletic dogma. In 645 he went to Rome, and was received into close friendship and intimacy by Pope Martin I. Eight years after he was arrested by order of the Emperor, Constans II, and brought to Constantinople on a charge of seditious conduct, but was acquitted. This arrest grew out of his steady opposition to the doctrine of One Will, held by the emperor, who wished to govern the church as well as the state. And because Maximus refused to be silent in the growing controversy on this question, he was banished, notwithstanding his acquittal, to Thrace, and sent from one prison to another until he finally died; probably from ill treatment—hence the title *Confessor.*

His works were published in Paris, 1675, in two vols. *folio*, consisting of some fifty different tracts on various subjects, answers to Biblical questions, letters, &c. He left, in addition to these, Commentaries on the Canticles, on Dionysius Areopagita, and on some parts of Gregory Nyssen's works. He is represented as learned, distinguished for acuteness and profundity of intellect, and for his endeavors to promote a practical and vital Christianity. He was somewhat mystical in his treatment of theological and metaphysical questions. Neander says, however, that "the fundamental ideas of Maximus seem to lead to the doctrine of a final universal restoration, which in fact is intimately connected also with the system of Gregory of Nyssa, *to which he most closely adhered.* Yet he was too much fettered by the church system of doctrine distinctly to express anything of the sort."

As to this last remark, we are not quite satisfied of its correctness; for the very citations from Maximus given by Neander in his notes certainly furnish a sufficiently intelligible expression of this doctrine. And assuredly if he strictly followed the lead of Gregory Nyssen, he could not escape this conclusion, for it pervades both the philosophy and the theology of this distinguished Father. Furthermore *Uerbewerg*,

whose learning and acuteness are acknowledged, and whose opinions are the result of a careful study of authorities, says "Maximus taught that God had revealed himself through nature and by his word. The incarnation of God in Christ was the culmination of revelation, and would therefore have taken place even if man had not fallen. *The universe will end in the union of all things with God.*" Vol. i. 352.

And Neander himself says in a note to a very lengthy and critical exposition of the philosophy of Maximus, that, in the collection of Aphorisms derived from his writings, "*the reunion of all rational essences with God is established as the final end.*" The words of Maximus in this case are surely "distinct" enough: *τον πάντως πᾶσιν ἑνωθησομένον κατὰ το πέρας τῶν αἰώνων.*—"Him who *wholly* unites all things (or is wholly united to all things) in the end of the ages."

The same may be said of another citation in which Maximus seems "distinctly" and positively to announce this doctrine of the final harmony of the universe, and the reunion of all souls with God. In his *Ερωτήσεις καὶ Αποκρίσεις*, "Questions and Answers," he cites the doctrine of Gregory concerning the Restoration, expresses his approval of it, and adds the following, translated as literally as possible:

"In the course of ages the perverted powers of the soul will throw aside the memories of evil laid up in it; and the soul, passing through all the ages and finding no resting place, (*στάσιν*) comes to God beyond whom there is nothing (*μὴ ἐχοντα πέρας*). And thus by the knowledge, but not by participation, of good it recovers its powers and is restored to its original state, and shows that God is not the author of sin."

"According to this," says Neander, "God will finally be glorified by the complete extirpation of all evil. Yet how he could distinguish between the *knowledge* of the highest good in which all would participate, from the *participation* in it, cannot well be seen." But we think his meaning is obviously this, that the soul passing on through the ages, and finding no rest, at last comes by experience to the knowledge that there *is* no rest but in God, the good; and, though *not yet* participating in the good, all its powers quickened into action by this knowledge, it comes to God, and is thus saved, or restored to its primitive estate.

As if to put the measure of his faith in human restoration beyond question, Maximus appears to have inclined, with Origen, to a belief in the final redemption even of fallen spirits. In his Scriptural Questions, he gives in the 21st an exposition of Coll. ii. 15, in which it is thought that he had this doctrine in mind; though he says we are not

authorized to rely upon, or assert with confidence, any thing which belongs to the "more secret of the divine doctrines of Scripture"—*ἀπορρητότερα τῶν θείων δογματων.*

On the whole, considering the metaphysical nature of most of his writings, and the peculiar style of his argumentation, the evidence is sufficiently conclusive that Maximus Confessor, or Maximus the Monk as he is called by some, is to be numbered among those learned and pious fathers of the early Church who believed with Paul that, though mankind are subject to vanity, they shall finally be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

Diabolos, or the New Testament Devil.

"A bishop must be . . . not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover he must have a good report of those which are without; lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil." 1 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

"Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." Eph. vi. 11.

"Neither give place to the devil." Eph. iv. 27.

"Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." 1 Pet. v. 8.

At the time these exhortations were written the Christian was a marked man, standing apart from Pagan society, separate from the idolaters, enthusiastic, zealous, and aggressive; and, in many cases, where there was a want of prudence and judgment, very likely to be fiercely denunciatory of the errors and errorists of the country where he lived.

Of course this would lead to anger and hostility, to retaliation and persecution, on the part of those assailed. Very soon the heathen, whose religion and gods, or idols, were attacked, would begin to act on the offensive, and seek occasion to accuse the Christians, and bring them into conflict with the civil authorities. All this we see abundantly illustrated in the Book of Acts.

Now the apostles knowing these things, and themselves having experienced them, being falsely accused and persecuted, they warn their brethren and converts to take heed in regard to these matters, and so order their conduct and conversation that they may "give no place to the devil," or false accuser. Paul reminds the Ephesians, that in order "to stand against the wiles of the devil," they must be clothed

in "the whole armor of God," the parts of which he specifies as "the breast plate of righteousness," "the helmet of salvation," "the sword of the spirit," and "the shield of faith wherewith to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked"—or, as the same word is rendered in Matt. iii. 38, "the wicked one," or devil; meaning their heathen adversaries who were watching them, ready to seize the first opportunity to accuse them to the magistrate.

So in the same vein he writes the Ephesians to avoid anger, theft, and false speaking, that they may not "give place to the devil," or false accuser, iv. 25-29. And he urges young women to marry, and carefully "guide the house" and walk circumspectly, that they may "give no occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully," the "adversary" being the same as the "devil."

To the same purpose, and evidently with the same thought in his mind, he urges that a bishop should not be "a novice," a new convert, lest puffed up with pride by his unexpected honors, and urged by his youthful zeal, he should say and do foolish and imprudent things, and so "fall into the snare," or into "the condemnation of the devil," or false accuser or "slanderer" as the same word is translated in verse 11. He exhorts that a bishop should be chosen from among the elders, those well known and long tried disciples, whose wisdom and judgment have already given them "a good report of them which are without," (i.e. the heathen, or men of the world,) and who therefore will not be likely to be ensnared by "the wiles of the devil," or the cunning of the informers, who went about seeking occasion to accuse them to the government as dangerous persons.

Peter, alluding to the slanders and persecutions of the heathen, urges the same thought and warning on his brethren: "Be sober, be vigilant" or watchful, "because your adversary the devil," i.e. the heathen accusers of the Christians, the infamous informers employed by all despotic governments, "as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour: whom resist steadfast in the faith, knowing that the *same afflictions* are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world."

These passages find a singular illustration, and the interpretation a strong confirmation, in existing documents which have come down to us from the same age which gave birth to the epistles of the New Testament. We refer to the epistles of the younger Pliny and Trajan, and the rescript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus, the Pro-consul

of Asia. Trajan came to the throne of the Roman Empire in the year of our Lord 98, two years before the death of the Apostle John. The letter of Pliny to him, and his answer, were written some eight or nine years later. Adrian was the successor of Trajan, and his rescript was issued soon after his accession. The documents show the circumstances and dangers and persecutions of the Christians in that age, and the *diabolos, devil* or *false accuser,* who went about laying snares for them, and seeking to bring them into the condemnation of death. The terms "accusers," "accusations," "calumniators," &c., in these state papers, are the exact equivalent of the term "devil" in the passages in review.

Pliny was sent out by Trajan as governor of Pontus and Bithynia, A.D. 106-108. The persecution under this emperor began A.D. 100; and Pliny, finding so many accused of Christianity, and arrested, was embarrassed, and wrote to the emperor for advice. In his letters, he makes the following statements:

"In the meantime, I have pursued this course towards those who have been brought before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question a second and a third time, adding threats of punishment . . . But the crime spread even while the *prosecutions* were going on, and numerous instances presented themselves. An *information*—or accusation—was presented to me without any names subscribed, *accusing* a large number of persons." . . . "Others, who were *accused* by a witness, confessed they were Christians, but afterwards denied it. Some owned that they had been Christians, but said they had renounced their errors, &c. These all did homage to your statue and the images of the gods, and at the same time reviled the name of Christ."

Trajan in his reply to Pliny says: "I would not have you seek these persons, but if they are brought before you they must be punished. But *informations* without the *accuser's* name subscribed ought not to be received."

Here we have the same "devil" found in the apostolical epistles. And it is easy to see how a bishop, if a new convert full of zeal and fire, might through pride of his new honors, imprudently expose himself to the "snares" and "wiles" and "fall into the condemnation" of these accusers and informers, or devils, who were ever on the watch to show their zeal for the old religion, or to gratify some personal spite, or secure the legal reward.

The anonymous letter of which Pliny speaks reminds us of the "Satan" in Ezra iv; "in the beginning of his reign *wrote* they an *accusa-*

tion (Hebrew, *satan*; Greek, *devil*) against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem." Again in the rescript of Adrian, the following occurs:

"The matter seems to one to require examination, in order that peaceable people may not be disturbed, and that occasion of evil doing may be taken away from *calumniators* (New Test. *diaboloi*. devils, false accusers, &c., Titus ii. 3). If, therefore, in *accusations* of this sort, the people of the province can clearly affirm any thing against the Christians, so as to bring the case before the tribunal, to this only let them have recourse, and not to informal *accusations* and mere clamors. For it is much more suitable, if any one wishes to bring *an accusation*, that it should come under your adjudication. If, therefore, any one *accuses* them, and proves that they have done any thing contrary to the laws, so you determine accordingly, in proportion to the greatness of the offence. But, by Hercules, if any one brings forward such *an accusation*, *slanderously*, take him and punish him for his impudence." [1]

How plainly we see here the devil or devils, the "false accusers," or "slanderers" of the New Testament. And the passage in Rev. xii. 9, 10. comes in here with exceeding fitness. "And the great Dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world. . . . And I heard a loud voice saying, *the accuser of our brethren* is cast out." The great dragon or devil here Paganism opposed to Christianity, as represented by persecuting followers.

And by comparing the context of the passages from the apostolical epistles with these heathen state documents, it will be seen that the circumstances of the Christians were the same in both cases—persecuted, watched by Jewish and heathen spies, exposed to the "wiles" and "snares," the "slanders" and "calumnies" of the "devil" who went about like a "roaring lion seeking whom he might devour." And it will add to the force of the exhortations, and illustrate the correctness of the interpretation, to remember that both Paul and Peter, the authors of these passages, finally became the victims of the false accuser, fell into the condemnation, and were devoured by this roaring lion—having both suffered martyrdon in the persecution under Nero, though on his first trial he was acquitted; or, as he says, "was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." II Tim. iv. 16, 17.

[1] We have adopted the translation of these documents given in Rawlinson's "Historical Evidences," as expressing the sense of the original more clearly. The rescript of Adrian is found in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Book iv. chapter 9. The original Latin is lost, and we have only the translation of Eusebius into Greek, which is again translated into English.

On the preceding page we spoke of "the legal reward." It may help to explain the zeal and activity of these "devils" to state that they received one fourth of the property of the accused if convicted. Hence they were constantly on the watch for victims, "walking about" as hungry lions "seeking whom they may devour." An attempt was made by the Senate in the reign of Tiberius to abolish this, but he interfered "in behalf of the informers as guardians of the law." "And thus," says Tacitus, "these *informers*, a description of men called into existence to prey upon the vitals of society, were encouraged by rewards." *Annals Book iv. Chapt.* 33.

And while on this subject we may as well put on record here the account which Tacitus gives of the origin of these *Diaboloi* or informers, as found in *Annals, Book i. Chapt.* 77.

"Thus Cepio Crispinus began a species of avocation which through the miserable times, and the daring wickedness of men, afterward became very common and notorious; for, at first needy and obscure, by creeping into the good graces of the emperor, who was naturally cruel, by secret informations, and in this way imperilling the lifes of the most distinguished citizens, he acquired influence with one, but the hatred of all, and thus exhibited an example by following which, men from being poor became rich, from being contemptible, became formidable. Many of them, however, after bringing destruction upon others finally perished by their own acts."

And he gives an example of this in the case of one Annius Faustus, a Roman Knight and professional informer, in the reign of Nero, the very reign of which Paul himself was informed against and put to death.

Religious World.

— Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" gives us the following illustration of the sweet spirit of charity and toleration cherished by Mohammedans toward their Pagan and Christian neighbors. It is from the closing prayer which the boys in many schools in Cairo used to repeat some years ago, and very likely do still:

"I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the accursed. In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. . . . O Lord of all creatures! O Allah! destroy the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of thy religion! O Allah! make their children orphans, and defile their abodes, and cause their feet to slip, and give them and their families, and their households and their women, and their children and their relations by marriage, and their brothers and

their friends, and their possessions and their race, and their wealth and their lands, as booty to the Moslems! O Lord of all creatures!"

— The following account of a Chinese funeral in New Jersey will illustrate one phase of the Paganism which finds shelter among us. The writer omits to mention that the relatives were clothed in *white*, which is the Chinese color for mourning, wherin they differ from Europeans; though it is a curious fact that *white* was used for mourning in Spain up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. No color seems ever to have been of universal use. Among the Greeks *black* was the color, and among the Romans also during the republic; but under the empire men wore black, and women white. In Turker *violet* is the color; in Egypt, *yellow*, and in Ethiopia, *brown*.

"When the body reached the cemetery the mourners formed a circle around the grave, for, in accordance with Chinese custom, two cavities, one large and one small, had been made. After a prayer by a Methodist clergyman the coffin was lowered into the larger grave and at once covered with earth. In the smaller grave, which was about two feet in diameter, were placed a teapot, a rice-pan, chopsticks and clothing of the deceased. On top was placed a large earthern vessel, containing a cooked chicken, rice and salted fish. Earth was then filled in over all. The next ceremony was the burning over the grave the clothes the deceased had worn the day of his death. A number of fire crackers were then exploded over the grave, after which each mourner in turn approached the resting-place of his comrade, placed his hands on his forehead, with the palms outward, and threw them forward three times, accompanying each movement with a low bow. This completed the ceremony, after which each mourner was presented with a small bouquet of flowers. All the ceremonies were conducted with the utmost solemnity, and in perfect silence,"

— The great German geographer, Herr Peterman, is satisfied from the reports of Carl Mauch and the German explorers that the Diamond Fields of East Africa, which are making so much noise just now, are the Orphir of the Bible, from which Solomon's ships brought gold, ivory and precious stones for the building of the Temple:

"The neighborhood is rich in alluvial gold, precious stones, and diamonds. It possesses ruins of extensive piles of building, the structure of which shows them to be of unquestionable and remote antiquity. Ornaments and instruments are still found that could not possibly have been made by the natives, but might well have been left there by Phœnicians. Three days' journey from Zimbaye similar

ruins have been found, and the surrounding country is rich in all that favors agriculture. The present inhabitants have been in possession only about forty years, and they regard the ruins and relics with a certain awe, due to tradition, which invests them with a sacred character. The geography of the place tallies admirably with the indications given in the Bible. Phœnican vessels would naturally sail along the eastern African coast for the Red Sea, and proceeding by this route they would be about three years coming and going, as stated in in the Bible."

—The account given by the correspondent of an English journal of the ceremony of crowning King Kassa as the "King of Kings of Ethiopia by the will of the people," under the name of Youarnisse, or John, furnishes a singular parallel to the festival of the dedication of Solomon's temple, 2 Chron. vii. 5-10: "And King Solomon offered sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the King and the people dedicated the house of God. Also at the same time Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him. And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month, he sent the people away into their tents, glad and merry in heart for the goodness that the Lord had shown unto David and Solomon, and to his people Israel." So far the Jewish Feast of Dedication. Now for the Abyssinian Feast of Coronation. It is said that "there were upwards of three hundred thousand people present. The camp reached for about eight miles; the plain of Auxum was covered, and the feast lasted for ten days. A shed was built, reaching nearly a mile, where all the people feasted. About twenty thousand cows were killed, and forty thousand gallons of honey wine were drunk."

—THE following, which we take from one of our daily journals, is another witness to the fact that this continent is not the "new world," as Europeans called it in 1492, but a very old world, occupied and improved by a civilized race, it may be, long before Europe itself attained to that point of growth and development. At any rate this is one among many similar facts, some of which are gathered into Baldwin's "Ancient America," which will lead the thoughtful reader into endless questionings and conjectures touching the past of our wonder-land:

"The remains of a number of ancient copper mines have been discovered on Isle Royal, in Lake Superior, which show undoubted proof of having been worked by men of a race totally extinct, who, as evinced by the tools found in the mines, combined ingenuity and

strength to a wonderful degree. These tools are not the make-shifts and rude endeavors of savages, but the instruments of skilled artisans. Some granite hammers have been found which no one but the "Cardiff Giant" alive and hearty, could swing. These relics would indicate the presence of a highly civilized and industrious race, who must have passed away before the dawn of antiquity. America would seem to have been the scene of the drama which has been enacted in every clime, the extinction of races to make way for others, who, in turn, would fall before others still stronger. When reading of the gigantic hammers found in these copper mines and reflecting upon the gigantic strength required to swing them, one becomes convinced that there were indeed "giants in those days."

—A REMARKABLE example of religious toleration has, according to the *Cologne Gazette*, been displayed by the Greek clergy on a recent occasion. The foundation-stone of a Protestant church was laid at Patras on the 21st of February. Besides the Protestant congregation, many Greeks attended the ceremony. The Greek clergy of the town, who had been invited to attend the solemnity, did not fail to appear, and the Archbishop of Patras, Cyrillos, after offering the customary prayers, laid the foundation-stone with his own hands; an action which produced the most favorable impressions on all present. The bishop, at the same time, recommended the church to the protection of St. Andrew, who, according to tradition, suffered martyrdom at Patras.

—The September *Catholic World* has the following statement, which, give to it what political, religious or social explanation we may, has confessedly a large measure of truth in it:

When England laid her hand on the possessions of the Church, which had been for centuries the patrimony of the poor, she took her first step towards her present social condition. Prisons and workhouses became the dismal substitutes for monasteries, and jailers supplanted monks. England has not profited much by the change. The new institutions are at least ten times more costly than the old, and the benefits derived from them have been in inverse proportion. They now receive only prisoners, and disgorge only criminals; while a whole nation of heathen poor, a burden on the present resources of the country and a menace for her future destiny, have sunk down, as even English writers will tell us, to the level of the most degraded tribes of Africa or America, and are as utterly void of religion or of the knowledge of God as the Sioux, the Carib, or the Dahoman."

—OUR readers all remember the English-Abyssinian War, which ended in the defeat and death of King Theodore. The following letter of his successor to the English Government will show what has

been going on in Abyssinia since the departure of the conquerers. It may be pertinent to inquire whether the reported Egyptian invasion of the country has any connection with the threat of the French consul, Munzinger. He wrote a most insulting letter to the King, telling him that he took the English troops to Magdala, and destroyed Theodore; and that if he did not allow the Catholic priests to teach their religion in his country, he would serve him in the same way. The indignant monarch asks the government of England if this is "a proper letter for a consul to write to a king of his own country, and also a Christian." We doubt not that it will be found eventually that M. Munzinger and the Jesuit priests, who have so persistently interfered in the political as well as religious affairs of the country, have a hand in this Egyptian invasion. And already it is announced that several Abyssinian chieftains, after the example of Gobzee, have joined the invaders. The king has sent an envoy to England, France, Russia and Germany, asking them to interpose and prevent the war being instituted by Egypt:

"I and my people are all baptized in the name of the Trinity; we all believe in the Gospel and in Christ; and if these Roman Catholic priests wish to teach their religion, there are plenty of wild people that are not baptised in the Shankuar country.

I sent my people last year to Allee for the purpose of collecting my revenue; but when my people asked for the taxes, all the Roman Catholic people said that they did not know any other king except the priests, and they were baptized by them, and they would not pay any taxes; and so I was forced to send a large force to make them pay.

I have given these Roman Catholic priests orders to leave my country several times by letters and messengers, but it was all of no use; they still would force their religion on my people, and taught my people to look to them as their king. I also wrote several letters to the Consul Munzinger, telling him that I did not want the Roman Catholic priests to misguide my people. Also, at the same time, these Roman Catholic priests and Consul Munzinger and their friends at Massowah were supplying one of my chiefs who had turned a rebel against my kingdom, and sending him guns, powder, and all that he required to plunder my country and destroy my people; and, when I sent an army against him, he would run to Consul Munzinger, and hide from my troops so as to avoid being taken; and, when I got the victory over Gobzee, I found a letter in the treasury of Gobzee that was written in the language of my country by them, telling Gobzee that if he would give them permission to do what they liked in Abyssinia, they will send him cannon, guns, powder, rockets, and all that he wanted to fight me. So, after all these things had happened, I sent an army to drive them out of my country, but they will not leave. Please let the people of England know this for my friendship to your people.—Adwa, February, 1872.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by John M'Clintock, D.D., and James Strong, S.T.D. Vol. iv, H, I, J., pp. 1,122. Harper & Brothers. $5.00.

When finished this work will be an honor to American scholarship, and a lasting monument to the enterprise and liberality of the Harper Publishing House. Better than this it will be a well-furnished and satisfactory minister's library in thousands of cases where a straitened income will not permit the purchase of the many learned and voluminous works on the criticism and literature of the Bible, Theology and Church History. In fact this Cyclopedia incorporates into itself the soul and substance of most of these works; and the editors frankly state that they have borrowed without stint from every reliable source of information in order to make their work a complete manual of Sacred Literature for the use of Ministers, Students, Sunday School Libraries and General Readers—so complete that no other work will be necessary for the ordinary purposes of study and reference. The substance of all the valuable Dictionaries and Cyclopedias is wrought into this—those of Smith, Kitto, Robinson, Calmet, Kerzog, &c; as well as the cognate matter of Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Stephen's *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, Buxtorff's *Lexicon Talmudicum*, D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale*, &c., &c.

The grand divisions of the work are Biblical Literature, Theology, Church History, and Religious Biography, ancient and modern; all the articles being arranged under one alphabet.

1. *Biblical Literature.* Under this head every person, place, animal, plant, mineral, implement, or other object mentioned in the Bible, is given with all the historical information and critical explanations needful to a full understanding of the subject. Topical articles are inserted giving a general view of every branch of Biblical knowledge, whether the terms occur in the Bible or not, as Canon, Biblical Criticism, Commentaries, Chronology, Manuscript versions, &c., under which titles a vast amount of most interesting and instructive matter is accumulated. Beside this we have a statement, almost a grammar, of the elements, peculiarities, and structure of the original languages, with lists of grammars, lexicons, &c; and also of the kindred tongues, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, &c. Still further, a careful Introduction to each book of Scripture (including the Apocrypha) is furnished, together with a very full list of Commentaries and other exegetical helps.

2. *Theology.* In this department we have the history of Christian Doctrine; the Creeds and Symbols of the various Churches, Oriental, Greek, Catholic, and Protestant; heresies and controversies, as far as they affect the general belief and history of the Church; and the lead-

ing Religions not Christian; Brahminism, Buddhism, Magianism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, &c.

3. *Church History.* Embracing the rise, progress, and present condition of the various Sects, including their Rituals, Rites, Ceremonies, &c; the History of Christianity in every important country; the Councils held in different ages of the Church—where, the object of their assembling, the results of their proceedings, &c; the Monastic Orders; Statistics of the various Denominations, embracing numbers, missionary operations, educational institutions, &c.

4. *Biography.* Sketches of the lives of Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Reformers, Saints, Martyrs, Rabbies, orthodox and heterodox; together with a brief record of eminent Preachers and Writers, with catalogues of their various works.

In surveying this wide field the editors have called to their assistance the leading scholars of all denominations, and these have gathered into their contributions the latest and best accredited results of recent explorations and studies in Archæology, History, Geography, Comparative Philology and Exegesis. And to this end they have laid tribute, among Historians, upon Neander, Hagenbach, Mosheim, Hase, Ranke, Lardner, Coleman; among Travellers, upon Burckhardt, Chardin, Robinson, Lynch, Stanley, Porter; among Explorers and Archæologists, upon Belzoni, Botta, Bonomi, Wilkinson, Layard, Lepsius, the Rawlinsons; among Critics and Commentators, upon Olshausen, Tholuck, Rosenmuller, Ellicott, Hengstenberg, Lange, Stuart, Davidson; and upon hosts of others in every department of learning. All this, while at the same time one half the matter is entirely new.

These facts will show the reader why we pronounce this Cyclopedia in itself, when completed, a Minister's Library; and why we so heartily commend it, notwithstanding the defects inherent in a work of such various character and vast dimensions, as one of the most comprehensive, useful and permanently valuable works of its kind which has ever appeared in the English language.

2. *Lange's Commentary.* The Books of Kings. By Carl Chr. W. F, Bähr, D.D · Translated, enlarged. and edited, Book I. by Edwin Harwood, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. Book II. by W. G. Sumner, B.A., Rector of Church of the Redeemer, Morristown, N. J, Scribner, Armstrong & Co. $5.00.

We have so often commended this great work that nothing remains to be said of its general features. This volume will be welcomed by those specially interested in the vexed questions of Jewish history, prophecy and chronology. Not that it settles many of them, but that it frankly confesses the difficulties, and furnishes the best available information toward a solution of them. All that learning and critical inquiry into the text can do in this way, seems to have been done here. The second section of the "Introduction," on the "Sources" from which the writer or compiler of the Book of Kings drew his facts, is an able and satisfactory discussion of that point. The "Historical and Ethical" Notes with which the several sections are closed, and

the "Appendix on the Chronology" of the period covered by the Books of Kings, are to us the most valuable portions of the work; and show the diligence and conscientious fidelity with which the editors have done their part toward elucidating the difficulties of the narrative. Dr. Harwood specially shows a most praisworthy independence in rejecting some of the special pleadings of his author, and unhesitatingly stating things as they are, leaving the facts to take care of themselves.

3. A History of the Corruptions of Christianity. By Joseph Priestly, L.L.D., F R.S., &c. Reprinted from Rutt's Edition, with notes. To which are appended Considerations in evidence that the Apostolic and Primitive Church was Unitarian, extracted from Priestley's Replies to Bishop Horsely, the Bench of Bishops, and others. Tenth Thousand. London: British Unitarian Association. For sale by the American Unitarian Association. $1.50.

We are glad of the opportunity furnished by the reception of this work of acknowledging a long-standing debt in its favor. In our early theological studies we counted this book as one of our most useful assistants, and to no other work were we under greater obligations for information eagerly coveted, and for the saving of time then so valuable to us. Dr. Priestly did for us, as for hundreds of others similarly situated, a work the value of which can not be over-stated; for from his pages we gathered in a few hours what would have cost us months of search in the wilderness of Patristic literature, and then probably with only half the results following his patient and learned investigations. Our edition, the third, printed bv Wm. Spotswood, in two volumes, Boston, 1797, has had a pleasant look to us ever since. On comparing it with this edition we find the important additions to be an Appendix, drawn from Priestley's "History of Early Opinions," on the "Evidence for the Primitive Christians holding the Doctrine of the Simple Humanity of Christ;" and some valuable Notes giving the exact words of the original authorities, very important in many cases, where Priestley gives only a reference.

We heartily commend this volume to our younger clergy, not simply as saving them much time and labor, but because it will put them on the track of new inquiries, and show the importance of original investigation on points where partial historians are disposed to put them off with assertion and dogmatism. They will not probably accept all its conclusions, touching the Soul, the State of the Dead, and the simple Humanity of Christ; but they will find a diligent survey of early opinions on the Nature of Christ, the Atonement, Predestination, Original Sin, Saints and Angels, and the Organization, Discipline and Ordinances of the Early Church, &c., which will be very helpful in their studies, and will serve as a corrective to the groundless assumptions of Orthodox writers.

4. Humanity Immortal; or, Man tried, fallen, and redeemed. By Lawrence P. Hickok, D.D., L.L.D. Lee & Shepard. $2.75.

This volume is intended as a continuation of "Creator and Crea-

tion," but it seems to us greatly inferior to that work as regards originality and argument. In fact the first two hundred pages are simply an epitome of the Old Testament history; and the rest a statement of the Orthodox doctrines of the Fall, Atonement, Redemption, Judgment and Retribution. The scriptural passages usually cited in proof of these dogmas are quoted without any attempts to show the fitness of their application, and with a sublime unconsciousness of any other possible interpretation. The book, unlike its predecessor, is evidently written for the comfort of believers, and not for the conversion of unbelievers.

5. Three Books of Songs. By Henry W. Longfellow. James R. Osgood. $2.00.

The first book is made up of the poems which have appeared in the Atlantic, and are a continuation of the "Wayside Inn," ingeniously woven together, as those stories were, by apt and musical interludes. We welcome them in this form, for they are worthy of the author; and repeatedly have we read to eagerly listening ears "The Legend Beautiful," "Lady Wentworth," "The Ballad of Carmilhan," and above all the exquisite and melodious verse which recites the legend of "The Baron of St. Castine." Nothing can be finer or more pathetic than this charming ballad.

Judas Maccabæus, which makes the second book, is the best dramatic poem Longfellow has produced, and there are passages in it which are not only in his best vein, but are equal in classic finish and tragic power to any thing in the realms of English verse—as the tragedy of the Jewish Mother and her seven sons which opens Act II.

Were the "Handful of Translations" added to fill out the necessary number of pages? We can think of no other reason for putting them in here.

6. The Life of Horace Greeley, from his Birth to the Present Time. By James Parton. With Portrait and Illustrations. James R. Osgood.

What need that we should commend this book to our readers, to all the young men of the land who, poor, friendless and alone, have to fight their way to recognition, place and influence? Every body knows of the New York Tribune, and the immense power it has been in the land; every body knows something of James Parton who tells the story of their beginnings and growth. No possible fiction can surpass in interest this simple and truthful narrative of the triumphs of honest purpose and persistent endeavor. We have enjoyed a hearty laugh in reading over again the chapter on "The Tribune and J. Fennimore Cooper."

7. Man and his Dwelling Place. An Essay towards the Interpretation of Nature. By James Hinton, author of "The Mystery of Pain," &c. D. Appleton & Co. $1.75.

Our attention was called to this volume by a fairly written notice in the "Methodist Quarterly," and having procured it, and read it with some attention, we must award it the praise of originality and

subtlety of argument—whatever may be said of its philosophy—in behalf of the great truth of final harmony in the moral and spiritual universe. We have often spoken of the many volumes appearing in England, in all departments of literature, illustrating and defending the special doctrine of our Church—five times as many as are issued from our own press in this country. This work is an example of these issues, and shows to what extent the question engages the efforts of thoughtful and cultivated minds, both from the side of Scripture and Philosophy.

To enable our readers to get at the leading thought of the book, the ingenious manner in which it is set out and illustrated, and the bearing of it upon the question of the final redemption, would require a lengthy review and quotations more numerous and extended than we can find room for in the present number. We shall therefore state the subjects of its several chapters, and add to this the substance of the notice alluded to above, which, as remarked, is fair and all that could be accomplished in the space allowed. After an Introduction giving the Propositions to be argued, the Laws of Discovery, and the Relation of Science to Religion; we have Book I. *Of Science*, under which head are chapters on the Work of Science, The Laws of Nature, Of Knowing, Of Being, Of Man, and the relation of Science to Philosophy. Book II. *Of Religion*, with chapters Of Death, Of Life, Of Damnation, Of Redemption, Of Heaven, Of the Religion of Nature, Of Freewill, Of the Self. Book III. *Of Ethics*, with chapters Of the Fact of Human Life, Of Illusion, Of Reality, Of Wrongness—followed by four Dialogues in which the writer and reader continue to discuss, illustrate and establish the propositions and doctrines previously enunciated. We should be glad to give the entire chapters on Death, Redemption, Damnation, and Hell. They perfectly accord with our views, but the manner of presentation is original and fresh.

Substantially the argument of the book is as follows: To the natural man external nature, including matter and its laws, appear hard and *dead*. This is an illusion, for it is truly man himself that is *dead*, and nature is living and spiritual. Give man the true life and he will see that unveiled nature is spirit. This deadness of man to the life of nature is identical with that spiritual deadness described in the New Testament, by which man is insensate to God and holiness. Christ's mission of redemption is to awaken man to the true life. And the truly awakened and redeemed man, fully enlightened by Scripture and the Spirit, is enabled to see that under the veil of nature is the living Spirit, and that the temporal is truly the eternal. We are as truly *in eternity* before bodily death as after it. This redemption is completed by delivering man from his *self*, which is an emptiness and a defect, and filling him with God, by which he is elevated to a true personality.

And as *time* is really *eternity*, so truly eternal death and eternal life are not solely *in the future*, but *now*. The natural man is now in hell, and, alas! usually loves to be in hell. Death, by which we drop our

own phenomenal covering, is but an incident in our ever-present eternity. There is not a single passage of Scripture by which our redemption from spiritual death is limited to our state previous to our bodily death. The wicked are now in eternal damnation, and the righteous are now in eternal life, and so will both classes stay so long as the former remain in wickedness and the latter remain in righteousness. Dives and Lazarus are the names of characters rather than of men, or rather the names of men in opposite characters. They are the eternal antithesis of right and wrong exhibited in living concrete instances, and the gulf between them is the impassable contrariety of the opposing terms of that antithesis. Christ is pledged in the work of redemption to bring all from the Dives to the Lazarus condition, and there is no fear that he will fail of the complete accomplishment of this great office.

Mr. Hinton holds this to be the true, the palpably and indisputably plain, doctrine of the New Testament and the New Testament Church. Very early, and very unhappily, the Church lost sight of this truth of universal complete redemption. Her eyes became dimmed by the mists from surrounding paganism, and she was induced to postpone eternity beyond death, and to see an immutable death for all who passed that limit in impenitence. Gradually she constructed her system of interpretation of words and phrases into this meaning, until she reads eternal personal misery into a body of texts innocent of such meaning, and reads universal redemption out of a revelation full of that glorious import.

Dr. Whedon thinks that if Mr. Hinton were like John Murray, "the father of American Universalism," a flaming evangelist instead of a closeted thinker, he could largely restore the pristine devoutness, and thereby much of the power and prevalence, of its original history. There is a spiritual glow in his style, a heartiness in his Christian feeling, well calculated, he says, to insinuate his sentiments into devout minds.

8. Lectures on the Church of Scotland: Delivered in Edinburg in 1872. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. Scribner Armstrong & Co. $2.50.

Those who have read the author's "Jewish Church" and remember his description of the old Hebrew Prophets and the perilous times in which they lived and acted, will enjoy these pictures of the Scottish Church, and of the men who gave it direction and character, in the days of its tribulation and struggle for life.

The book is marked with all the fascinating characteristics of Stanley's photographic style and treatment. Of course he would be likely, under the circumstances, to soften some of the sterner features of the portraits given; and he certainly seems to have found authority for changing the coloring somewhat. As for ourselves we are glad to know that these men were not wholly of cast-iron, and to believe that their hardness was born of the times rather than of their hearts.

9. The Mystery of Pain; A Book for the Sorrowful. By James Hinton. D. Appleton & Co.

We fear the author's theory that pain is something which all should welcome as a sacrifice, is too high to be reached by ordinary mortals. No doubt all pain and suffering have a germ of good in them, which, some day will develope into blossom and fruit; but few even with this faith, will ever be able in this life to rejoice in their anguish, and to prefer it to ease and quiet. Still, we welcome the discussion, and our theologians will find here something deserving their thought, especially in what is said of the uses of pain in Chapter iii.

10. Olrig Grange. Edited by Herman Künst, Philol. Professor. J. R. Osgood $1.50.

We thought the newspaper heralding of this book looked like cheap advertising. Nevertheless there is genuine poetry here, and the author shows himself gifted with the true afflatus. The opening "Editorial" is worthy of Longfellow; and he would not be ashamed of the sweet, sad, tender confession and farewell of the dying Thorold after his long fight with the great grief which finally crushed him. Then the keen sarcasm with which the poet shows up the religious cant and the scientific omniscience of the day is admirable. There is a wealth of thought in the book, and a lesson, once read, not likely soon to be forgotten.

11. Septimius Felton; or, the Elixir of Life. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. J. R. Osgood. $2.00.

The manuscript of this work was found among the papers of Hawthorne after his death. As an example of that marvellous power of psychological dissection which he possessed in a superlative degree, this story will receive cordial welcome from those fond of this kind of study. We are not fond of it when it takes on the gloomy, diseased grave-yard character developed in this wild, unnatural, witch-Indian tale. Perhaps, however, it reveals the genius of Hawthorne, or at least the morbid side of it, as fully as any of his works; but it is not healthy, nor elevating, nor satisfying. And yet when it passed through the Atlantic, we were always anxious for the next instalment, hoping for something which never came.

12. A Hidden Life, and Other Poems. By George Macdonald, L.L.D. Author of Wilfrid Cumbermede. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. $1.50.

This is the story of a youth, at work upon his paternal farm, who, inspired by love of a beautiful girl seen only once, was quickened into new thoughts, higher hopes and aspirations, and resolved to lift his intellectual and moral life to a level worthy of so angelic a being, even though without any faintest expectations of uniting his lot with hers. It has many passages full of sweetness and tenderness, and shows the author has claims to be considered a poet as well as a novelist. The epistle, when dying, to his unknown love, is sufficient proof of this.

Many of the "Other Poems," especially the Scripture Pieces, and Organ Songs, are very beautiful; and "The Disciple" confirms the remark we made concerning "Wilfrid Cumbermede"—that Macdonald has had personal experience of the doubts, and bewilderments, and struggles attendant upon the progress from unbelief or wrong belief toward a true Christian faith, which he describes with so much feeling.

13. The Desert of the Exodus: Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years Wanderings. By E. H. Palmer. With Maps and Illustrations. Harper & Brothers. $8.00.

This volume is one of the fruits of the Palestine Exploration enterprise, and is an eloquent witness to the interest and importance of that movement. No volume lately issued contains more valuable testimony to the wonderful accuracy of the Scriptural record, or treats more exhaustively all the various geographical, topographical, linguistic and critical questions connected with the narrative of the Exodus. Of course it would be unreasonable at this distance of time to expect that all the stations and localities of the Desert journey can be identified as exactly as the stations upon a modern Railroad; but that the site of Mt. Sinai, and the general route of the Israelites through the Wilderness, have been determined by this Exploration party will scarcely be doubted by any fair-minded reader who carefully weighs all the facts brought to light—the curious and surprising facts touching mountains, valleys, roads, camping-grounds, wells, towns, ruins, names, traditions, &c. In the light of these the Mosaic itinerary becomes instinct with life and reality.

The explorations made in the country of Moab, and the diligent search for more "Moabite Stones," are full of interest; but the results, we are sorry to say, lead to the belief that nothing more above ground is to be hoped for in that line of discovery. We should be glad to give the author's account of the finding of the "Moabite Stone," which is equally pleasing and informing, and an added testimony to the wonderful integrity with which the Hebrew Scriptures have been preserved.

The story of the journey, while rich with important results helpful toward an understanding of the Exodus history, furnishes constant entertainment also to the reader in lively sketches of the countries traversed, the people, customs, traditions, and novel incidents which take us back into the Old Testament times, and discover the stereotyped and unchangeable character of Oriental life and manners. In the East, as regards the condition of life and thought, a thousand years is as one day; and at every camping place you may meet a half dozen Abrahams or Esaus, with their families, and tents, and flocks and herds. And here we may note one point in which Mr. Palmer differs from all other writers. He tells us that the popular view of the Bedouins as wandering incessantly from place to place is wholly incorrect. In reality no people are more attached to their homes. They

have their winter and summer camping grounds, and, except to go from one to the other as the seasons require, they seldom change their residence. Indeed Arabic and English are almost the only languages which have a word expressive of *Home!*

The legends or stories current among these people are often very instructive, and sometimes amusing. The following has a useful hint in it:

"Two travellers had halted in the desert and had just killed a couple of fowls for their dinner. Before they could dress the birds, the hour of prayer arrived, and they turned, like good Muslims, to their devotions. A fox, which had been skulking in the neighborhood, seeing them thus engaged, came boldly up and carried off one of the fowls before their very eyes. Prayers over, they began lamenting over their loss, when, to their amazement, they beheld the thief at a little distance dragging his tail submissively behind him, and holding the fowl in his mouth; he then deposited it on the ground, and slunk away with every sign of repentance and contrition. They at once hailed the occurrence as a miraculous testimony to their own piety, and ran to pick up the fowl which had been thus strangely restored to them; on reaching the spot, however, they found that Reynard had only restored the skin, and in the meantime had slyly stolen round to their camp-fire and made off with the remaining moiety of their dinner."

We forgot to say in the proper place that the maps are admirable every way, and a great help to the critical reader; while the illustrations are from sketches on the spot. Every Bible student should have the book.

14. The Pennsylvania Pilgrim, and Other Poems. By John Greenleaf Whittier. James R. Osgood.

Did ever true American fail to welcome a new gift from the heart of our true American poet? Always faithful to the history and traditions of our country; always quick to see the poetic side of them, and to drink in the inspiration of the theme; always reverent and loving, and interpreting all events and actions in the spirit of Christian charity and the light of "Eternal Goodness;" Whittier endears himself to every sincere patriot, to every friend of humanity, and to every loving disciple of Christ. He sings to the devout soul, to the trusting heart, rather than to the questioning intellect, and the spirit of doubt and unbelief. The temper of all his thought and utterance is that which gets such sweet expression in the most beautiful of his poems:

"I know not what the Future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that Life and Death
His *Mercy* underlies.
I know not where his islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond his love and care."

The "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" seems to have two objects in view—to give us a pleasant picture of Quaker life and manners, of the sweet sanctities of their home life and First-day worship in those far off times when Penn walked the banks of the Delaware; — and also to show us the quiet spirit and patient faith of the American "Friends" who, in their efforts at reforming political, social and religious abuses,

early learned the lesson which teaches us to labor and to wait, to do faithfully *our* duty, and leave the rest to God; or, in other words, to sow the seed diligently, and be content to let those who come after us gather in the harvest. Nothing can be finer than the manner in which Anna illustrates this truth to her husband in the garden, on his return from the "Meeting" where his earnest protest against Slave-holding had been, at first, "smothered with cautious phrase." Pointing to the Century Plant, she says,

"See this strange plant its steady purpose hold,
And, year by year, its patient leaves unfold,
'Till the young eyes that watched it first are old:
But sometime, thou hast told me, there shall come
A sudden beauty, brightness, and perfume,
The century moulded bud shall burst in bloom.

So may the seed which hath been sown to-day
Grow with the years, and, after long delay,
Break into bloom, and God's eternal Yea
Answer at last the patient prayers of them
Who now, by faith alone, behold its stem
Crowned with the flowers of Freedom's diadem.
Meanwhile, to feel and suffer, work and wait,
Remains for us. The wrong indeed is great,
But Love and Patience conquer soon or late."

We should please ourself if we copied the exquisite picture of the 'First-day mornings" and worship. We think it one of the finest pieces of painting Whittier has produced. And "The Singer," in memory of Alice Carey—can the tender pathos of this be surpassed? And the Welch legend of "The Robin," and "The Three Bells," and "Marguerite" and all the "Other Poems," in fact; what sweet lessons of faith and love and tolerance they read to us. "My Birthday" has the same blessed refrain of trust and gratitude. Happy they who can say from the heart —

"God's light shines on me from above,
His low voice speaks within,—
The patience of immortal love
Outwearying mortal sin.

Not mindless of the growing years
Of care, of loss and pain,
My eyes are wet with thankful tears
For blessings which remain.
If dim the gold of life has grown,
I will not count it dross,
Nor turn from treasures still my own
To sigh for lack or loss."

The historical and biographical incidents contained in the Introduction and Notes are not among the least attractive portions of the volume, and will help to do a work of justice to the character and influence of the Pennsylvania Quakers.

BOOK NOTES.

The editorial of the *Atlantic Monthly* for October is unusually attractive and instructive. "Recent Literature," "Art" and "Science" are carefully written, just and discriminating. "Art" opens with a notice of the collection of pottery and porcelain belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts, now on exhibition at the Athenæum, and has the following excellent suggestion, which we trust will receive attention from those in charge: "If we regard points of ethnological interest, it would seem a matter for regret that the collection should include no examples of the early South American pottery, the delicate ware of the Mexican Cholulans, highly praised by the historian Herrera, or of the polished jars from Ohio, and the gourd-like vessels found in New York. Something relating to the early history of the art on this continent would find a peculiarly fitting place in an American museum, where it might be contrasted with similar products of Asia and Italy."

A Miller's Story of the War; or The Plebiscite. By one of the 7,500,000 who voted "Yes." Translated from the French of Eckermann-Chatrian, authors of "The Conscript," "Waterloo," "The Invasion," &c. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. $1.25. [Interesting as a Story, and terrible as a political expose of imperial corruption and ambition.]

Little Prudy's Fly-away Series. Little Grandmother. By Sophie May, author of "Dotty Dimple Stories," &c. Lee & Shepard. 75 cts.

A Seven Months' Run, Up, and Down, and Around The World. By James Brooks. Written in Letters to the N. Y. Evening Express. D. Appleton & Co. [Externally beautiful, and within amusing, containing very many pages of useful information to those following the author's tracks.]

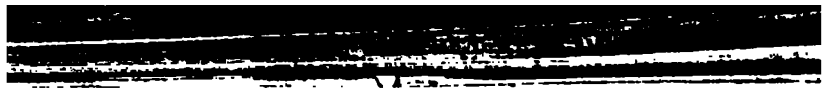
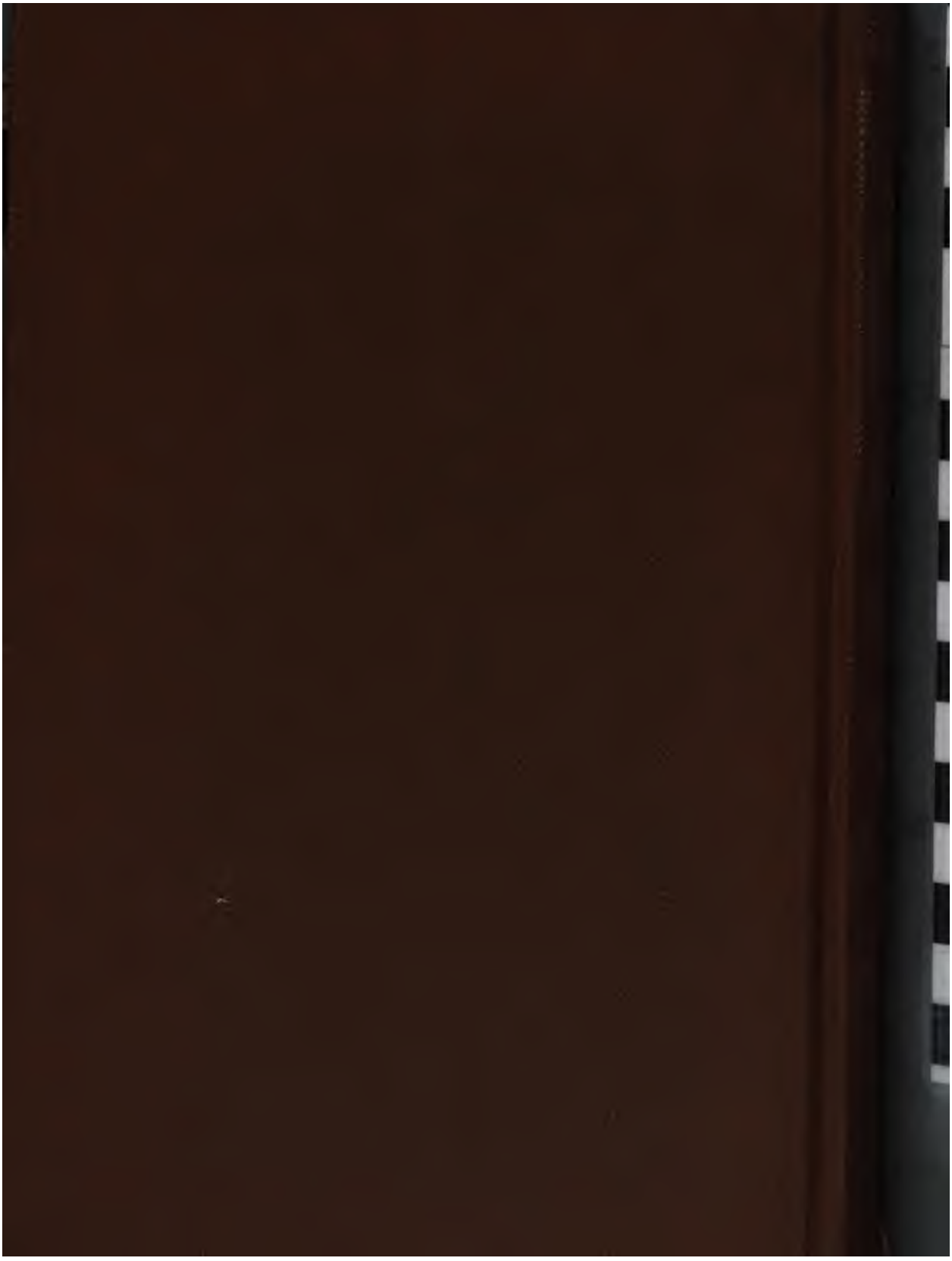
Boston Illustrated and Stranger's New Guide through Boston and Vicinity. J. R. Osgood. 50 cts. [There is nothing in the way of guide-books that approaches it in the beauty and number of its views of public places and buildings; nor in the variety and value of its information, historical, archæological, topographical.]

Fifine at the Fair, and Other Poems. By Robert Browning. J. R. Osgood. $1.50.

Within and Without. By George Macdonald, L.L.D. Author of "Wilfrid Cumbermede," &c. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. $1.50.

A Key to the Characters and Principal Incidents in the Works of Charles Dickens. By Gilbert A. Pierce. With additions by Wm. A. Wheeler, author of the "Dictionary of Noted Names of Fiction." 1 vol. 12mo. With Portrait and Illustrations. $3.00. [This volume comprises, in the most convenient arrangement for reference, all desirable information respecting the date, origin, and circumstances of Dickens' entire Works; a sufficient description of the several characters introduced in his stories; a running outline of each of the Novels; a classed list of Characters; and a very full General Index. Its fulness, accuracy, and systematic arrangement, render it indispensable to every reader of Dickens.]

The Land of Desolation: Being a Personal Narrative of Observation and Adventure in Greenland. By Isaac I. Hayes, M. D., author of "The Open Polar Sea," "An Arctic Boat Journey," &c. Harper & Brothers. $1.50. [A most delightful book, rich with scientific observations and curious antiquarian lore concerning the Northmen. The reader will find that these adventurous mariners visited Massachusetts five hundred years before Columbus discovered the Bahamas; and he will linger with a saddened feeling among the ruins of their dwellings and churches in Greenland described so faithfully by Dr. Hayes. The accounts of this "Land of Desolation" are full of interest and information. The description of glaciers and of the "Birth of an Iceberg," are among the best things in the book.]

The Psalms: with Notes Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D. D. D. Appleton & Co. $2.25. [Very excellent for its critical explanation of the text, where no doctrine is involved. Dr. Cowles seems here not on so high a level as in his work on the Apocalypse. We question much if David would endorse many of his theological findings.]

A Woman's Experiences in Europe—including England, France, Germany and Italy. By Mrs. E. D. Wallace. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.